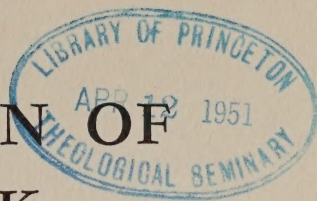




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ADMINISTRATION OF GROUP WORK

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By

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To
EMMA AND MARCIA

INTRODUCTION

THE USE OF GROUP WORK as a major method of work with people in many social agencies has inevitable implications for administration in those agencies.

Group work is concerned with the development of persons. Participation is considered essential. New interests are stimulated. Initiative and responsibility are encouraged. Co-operative and democratic relationships are fostered. The quality of relationships, among the group members and between the group leader and members, is sometimes regarded as more important than what the group members do together.

Administration is concerned with achieving results, with "getting things done," effectively and efficiently. But democratic administration, in common with group work, is also concerned with persons. When administration is democratic, all possible persons related to a problem are consulted in deciding on goals to be sought and steps to be taken. All possible joint decisions are encouraged. The varied abilities and experience of board and staff members are utilized in proportion to their social usefulness and with regard to the development of the persons involved.

Democratic administration *must* facilitate effective working relationships. It *is* concerned with efficiency as well as with the growth of people. It must have what Ordway Tead has called "operational validity."

Administration can utilize the insights and skills of group work. Administration can promote efficient organization and provide wise control, and at the same time, promote harmonious relationships and stimulate personal growth.

In *Administration of Group Work* Louis Blumenthal explores the origins and the meaning of democratic administration. He examines its underlying concepts. He faces

its possible limitations. Fully as important, he suggests how it can be made to work well.

A major portion of the book deals with the board of directors, the work of the senior administrator and the other staff members, and with the membership. The community organizational aspects of administration are taken into account. The final chapter deals with the agency as a whole.

Administrators in all types of social welfare agencies will find this an extremely useful book. It will undoubtedly prove helpful to executives and other staff members in child-care and family-service agencies, in health agencies, and in leisure-time agencies.

A philosophy of administration, consistent with modern concepts of education and of social work, is presented. The hard realities of administrative responsibility are also faced. This book deals with both philosophy and practice.

It draws on the more progressive writings on administration from the fields of business and industry and of education. It is an important addition to the growing body of professional social welfare literature.

Boston, 1948

RAY JOHNS

PREFACE

THIS VOLUME HAS GROWN out of courses in administration and in group work taught by the writer at the University of California, Extension Division, and at four regional Training Institutes of the National U.S.O. Chapter Five, with some modification, was presented as a paper before the American Association of Group Workers at its 1947 annual meeting held in connection with the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco.

The material is based upon my experience of over twenty-five years as executive director of group-work agencies; as director of organizational and private summer camps; as a manager, for a time, in industry. Having made administrative surveys of group-work agencies, and having undergone a survey of my own organization by an outside expert, I have also drawn material from this more organized type of experience.

It has been out of the necessity of meeting the day-to-day problems of specific organizational situations that I have been continuously led to a systematic formulation of management principles and methods. In this, I have been helped no end by discussions with members of my board and staff, colleagues from other agencies, and my students, to all of whom I am indebted.

I owe very much to the writings of those who helped me fashion the conceptual framework which gave organic unity and hence deeper meaning to the body of knowledge acquired out of my direct experience. My debt is especially great to the writings of John Dewey, Mary Follett, and Eduard Lindeman for their interpretation of democracy as a working principle in human relations; to Luther Gulick and L. Urwick for their conception of administration as a science; to Ordway Tead, Elton Mayo,

and F. J. Roethlisberger for their exposition of the human aspects in administration.

I have tried to gather into a single volume the three major concerns that have pertinent bearing upon democratic administration: the processes of administration, the techniques of democracy, and the dynamics of individual and group behavior. Following this triangular approach throughout the book, I have attempted to interpret democratic administration as a synthesis of the principles underlying all these three concerns. Only by so doing could democratic administration be seen in its proper perspective. It is a matter of becoming administratively strong, democratically motivated, and skilled in human relations.

The administrator's function is viewed as that of an applied scientist. His methodology is seen as one that is derived not from a set of formulas conceived in a vacuum, but from an understanding grasp of both the administrative and the human process. Managerial decisions are about human as well as institutional organization. Those who would lead must understand the character of their constituents and the organizational setting in which they move. They need also to see the broader values of the general principles they apply to specific situations, for they cannot "effectively carry out acts for which they have no underlying systems of belief."¹

To apply a technique in the concrete without an appreciation of its deeper implications in the abstract is to conspire against effectiveness. This is especially true with respect to the use of the democratic approach, which can only be sustained by a strong belief in its value. On the other hand, while such a belief can fortify democratic practice, the democratic ideal in itself is not valuable apart from the means employed for its implementation. Democratic ends inhere in democratic means. Specific methods must be used which are at one with democratic philosophy

¹ Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Un. Press, 1945) p. 292.

if democratic achievement is to take the place of wishful thinking or futility.

The interdependence of a generalized body of knowledge with specialized techniques; the integration of human relations with the administrative machine; the translation of the democratic idea into action by methods consistent with it—these considerations have shaped the pattern of this volume.

A necessary preliminary to an understanding of administration is its acceptance as a distinctive discipline with its own body of laws and skills. Accordingly, Chapter One is devoted to a brief history of administration, tracing the emergence of principles that have gone into the creation of administration as a science. From the more recent influence upon it of the democratic idea, which is converting management from system-centered into person-centered, there have grown democratic management projects. Descriptions of several are included. Chapters Two and Three describe the basic elements of administration from planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, and the rest through to standardizing, with each element analyzed in terms of its function, process, principles, and techniques.

Chapter Four deals with the democratic foundations of management and analyzes the basic concepts of the democratic idea. The origin and development of democracy are traced from the contribution of the religious sages, with their intuitive insights, to the more reasoned-out theory of political philosophers. Following this is an account of the more recent findings of social scientists, which are validating the democratic concepts of their religious and philosophical predecessors. Democracy is revealed as a sound working principle in human relations.

Chapter Five aims to clear up a number of misconceptions about democratic administration: that it slows things up, is inefficient, that individuals are not ready for it, and more. In Chapter Six are discussed the educational tech-

niques for implementing democracy, including those of group leadership, teaching, group discussion, problem solving, and educational supervision.

Up to this point, the discussion has been designed to examine the nature of the specific administrative and democratic tools as these are seen in the framework of underlying principles which serve to point up their intrinsic meaning. The motivating basis for the wise use of these tools is also discussed.

Following the thesis, heretofore developed, that the central problem of administration is social in character, the remaining chapters are concerned with the human organization in the institutional setting. There are a description of the component groups of a group-work agency, a portrayal of the characteristics of the individuals forming these groups, and an account of how these groups and individuals behave in the organizational environment. The board of directors, the administrator, staff, membership, community, and the agency as a whole are studied. The application to these groups of the philosophy, principles, and methods uncovered in the first part of the book, that is, the picture of the art and science of administration in action, is developed in terms of the concrete, day-by-day, organizational situations. Institutional functioning is seen in the broader pattern of the interdependence of the component parts, the reciprocal influence they exercise upon each other, and the unification of the various processes of management.

The democratic approach to management as herein discussed represents in its totality the application of what has come to be designated over the last decade as the group-work method.² Briefly stated, this group-work method aims to make the group experience a developmental one for both the group and its members. To this end, it em-

² See *A Decade of Group Work*, edited by Charles Hendry, and *Toward Professional Standards*, the 1945-1946 Yearbook of the American Association of Group Workers, both from Association Press, New York, 1947.

phasizes individualized objectives for the participants, democratic interaction, and the guiding function of leadership.

This book attempts to show how this group method is strategic for democracy in management as well, as was done in an earlier work of mine in the field of organized summer camping.³

While this volume has been centered around the group-work agency⁴ the principles and practices discussed, since these are basic in themselves, are equally applicable to other work-group settings, to social work generally, to the field of education, to business and industry. This book is intended for executives in all such situations. It was written as well for the supervisors, departmental heads, and the rank and file, who seek to realize for their agency and themselves the values of democratic administration.

The writer is only too well aware of the great challenge involved in exploring this comparatively new subject. Since administration, as a matter of human relations, is as broad and deep as life itself, its problems are elusive and complex. More study is urgently needed, for "in the art of administration, we are as yet barely adolescent"⁵; and in the art of *democratic* administration, our youthfulness is even more marked. If this work helps in some measure to advance administration nearer to maturity, I shall have been amply repaid for the effort.

For stimulating me to write a book on administration, I am indebted to Dr. Arthur L. Swift, Jr. I am grateful to James Rietmulder for the encouragement that led to the final completion of the manuscript. I wish to express sin-

³ Louis H. Blumenthal, *Group Work in Camping* (New York: Association Press, 1937).

⁴ The term, group-work agency, does not sharply identify any particular social, religious, or educational organization. It refers to any agency that includes group work among its methods of performing its service in a community.

⁵ L. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration* (New York: Harper, 1944) p. 11.

cere appreciation to Dr. Hedley Dimock who, as coordinator of training, made possible my participation in the United Service Organization Institutes that provided the opportunity for organizing and developing the material for many of the chapters. I extend my thanks to Dr. L. K. Hall for his thoughtful editorial counsel.

For the reading of the manuscript and their helpful suggestions, my thanks go to Ray Johns, general secretary of the Boston Y.M.C.A., Robert M. Levison a former president of the San Francisco Jewish Community Center, to its associate director, Emma J. Loewy, and to Dr. Samuel C. Kohs, field secretary of the National Jewish Welfare Board. Grateful appreciation is extended to my secretary, Constance Starr, for the typing of the manuscript.

LOUIS H. BLUMENTHAL

San Francisco, 1948

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ADMINISTRATION OF GROUP WORK

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

IN DEALING WITH HIS AFFAIRS, whether those of business, government, or community life, man has always been compelled to seek out and use some kind of organized management and leadership that would enable him to reach his objectives. In the complex modern world, survival requires a management that is sound and competent. The observation of Franklin Roosevelt applies to all of man's corporate enterprises: "In these troubled years of world history, a self-government cannot survive unless that government is an effective and efficient agency to serve mankind. . . . A government without good management is a house builded on sand."

THE ANCIENTS DEVELOPED ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

The current emphasis on administration as an important and distinct discipline represents the modern stage of its development. Administration has slowly evolved over a long period from a remote past. To understand what administration is one must trace its origins and see how it developed.

The ancient Hebrews understood the wisdom of distributing responsibility, defining functions, selecting competent leadership, fixing policy, and subdividing the whole into small manageable groups. Moses was chided by Jethro, his father-in-law, for taking on his own shoulders all the responsibility for dealing with his troubled people. Jethro gave Moses sound advice: "The thing that thou doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear away. . . . Thou art not able to perform it thyself alone. . . . I will give thee counsel. . . . Thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt show them the way wherein they

must walk and the work they must do. Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men . . . and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens . . . and it shall be that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge themselves; so shall it be easier for thee, and they shall bear the burden with thee.”¹

Among the Egyptians, well organized groups of officials specialized in the conduct of public services and developed systems of management. The Romans had a highly developed administrative structure to which modern bureaucracy is indebted.² The medieval church with its hierarchical organization was patterned upon the Roman administrative system. Life in the monasteries was highly regulated; there was order and standardization in every phase of their work. The influence of these practices spread beyond the monastic walls. With the professionalization of armies, beginning in the 17th century, there grew up in Western Europe large numbers of royal functionaries whose duty it was to collect the revenue for the support of the military. Later, with the industrial revolution, the individually owned shop was replaced by the factory system and industrial operations were put in the hands of managers.

MANAGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT BECOMES A MATTER OF PUBLIC CONCERN

In the United States, up to the turn of the 19th century, conditions were unfavorable to the development of a sound system of public administration. Our economic structure was mainly agricultural and the social order relatively simple. The rugged individualism of the fron-

¹ Exodus 18:17-22.

² See Mosher and Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration* (New York: Harper, 1938.)

tier and the spirit of laissez-faire prevailed. The functions of government were limited. Besides, democracy was interpreted to mean that every man was good enough to run the public's business. Professional competence was not considered important, nor was efficiency expected in the management of public affairs.

The turning point came when America moved from a simple, rural economy into an urban, industrial one. Adaptation to the complex social and economic requirements of the new era demanded that the government expand its activities in behalf of the public welfare. The concept of the welfare state emerged. Governmental activity over the years was enlarged to include a certain amount of regulation of business and industry, and the extension of social security and welfare programs. There was a marked increase in the number of administrative agencies and civil servants.

Management in government became a matter of public concern. The waste and inefficiency of the past could no longer be tolerated; it was expensive and contrary to the public good. The cherished belief that public administration was a simple matter which any citizen could handle gave way to the new concept of the competent, well-trained, professional administrator. On the local level, civic and business groups rebelled at the ineffectiveness of "amateur" city government, and hundreds of cities changed over to the city manager plan. Bureaus of municipal research were established to study administration and to set standards. The first such bureau was organized in New York City in 1906. These developments gave impetus to the growth of administration as a science. This had a marked impact on management generally.

BUSINESS BECOMES EFFICIENCY CONSCIOUS

In the field of business and industry, a milestone was the formation in 1880 of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. It undertook the first systematic study of

methods for increasing the productivity of the worker. The leader of this movement for scientific management, as it was called, was Frederick W. Taylor. In his philosophy, as enunciated in 1911, scientific management rested upon four basic principles: "The substitution of a science for the individual judgment of the workman, the scientific selection and development of the worker, and the intimate co-operation of the management with the workmen so that they together do the work in accordance with the scientific laws."³ The studies dealt primarily with the worker's mechanical efficiency and covered such matters as the elimination of waste motions, and the adjustment of speed, loads, and rest periods. "Taylorism," as this new movement came to be called, became identified as the "speed-up." As a result, the very term—scientific management—fell into disrepute in some quarters and was attacked as undemocratic by labor and liberal leaders.

Nevertheless, with the turn of the century, business as a whole became efficiency conscious. So-called efficiency experts took over. Laissez-faire operations gave way to rigid controls. New concepts were introduced such as standardization, staff and line organization, and centralization of control in a board of directors operating through a chief executive, the board formulating policy and the executive carrying it out by relaying orders down the line. This hierarchical pattern was copied from that of the United States Army, which pattern is said to have originated with the Prussian Army.

The result was a centralization of control, with emphasis on efficiency, mass production, and the reduction of costs. However, the human factor was overlooked. Under such a regimented system and with the increase of absentee ownership which characterized the new and huge corporations, the worker had no sense of personal relation-

³ Frederick W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper, 1942) p. 115.

ship to management. Interest and loyalty were too much to expect from the worker thus reduced to a machine. Subsequently, in the effort to improve employer-employee relations, personnel programs were introduced. These were paternalistic and the workers, after a time, became unwilling to accept this kind of good will and benevolence.

MANAGEMENT BEGINS TO RECOGNIZE THE PLACE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

During the depression that began in 1929, production came virtually to a standstill, and management had the chance to evaluate this depersonalized efficiency system, which had not worked as well as had been expected. The recognition slowly came that the approach had to be modified so as to be in line with the needs of workers as persons. A new concept of management began to emerge. Personnel administration was conceived as a matter of human relations, and as a process of enlisting the maximum cooperation of the worker as a self-directing personality. Progressive business men began to see that management, to be effective, had to square with human nature. This new thinking represented a radical break with the industrial tradition that had reduced the worker to the automatism of the machine.

Plans were introduced for worker participation in management through employee representation on management councils. This was not entirely new. It had its beginnings in Germany in 1849, and in America in 1898 with the Filene Co-operative Organization. In recent years numerous plans have been developed. While they are not all alike, they generally provide for conferences between employees and employers for the discussion of matters of mutual concern, for interchange of opinion, for grievance committees, for encouraging employee suggestions, and for worker voice in management decisions. These plans

have had beneficial results in the development of mutual understanding, better relations, heightened morale, and improved industrial techniques.⁴

Approximately twenty-five years ago, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad established a labor-management committee that has been functioning ever since. The clothing workers, through their unions, contributed funds to management and made suggestions for improved techniques in order to stabilize the industry. In 1938, the steel workers stabilized the Federal Steel Company, which was at the point of dissolution, through loans and suggestions for reducing costs.⁵

During World War II, the War Production Board developed labor-management committees in 4,600 war plants involving approximately eight million employees. Workers, through their representatives, shared in management by dealing with such matters as the quality and quantity of production, use of manpower, absenteeism, conservation of materials, and plant efficiency.

In the War Manpower Commission's Training Within Industry Division, over a million-and-a-half foremen and supervisors were taught the best methods of dealing with workers as human beings—how to understand the workers, how to get them interested in their jobs, how to give them a sense of importance. As a result, new workers were introduced to their jobs in a minimum of time.

There has been a marked extension of this human relations approach in management among enlightened industrial leaders. From a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, we learn that "the average American does not have a full sense of participation in the capitalistic system. He knows he is in it, but he doesn't feel that he is of it. . . . We are aiming at greater creative

⁴ See Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1943).

⁵ See Golden and Rutenberg, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1942).

participation on the part of our employees in the operation of our enterprises. . . . There is nothing altruistic in our plan. We think it is practical and realistic.”⁶ The Ford Motor Company is planning to spend \$500,000 for the study of human relations in industry, following the example of such companies as Libby, McNeil and Libby, the Container Corporation of America, and Sears Roebuck and Company.

THE HAWTHORNE STUDY EMPHASIZES HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY

The high-water mark of research in human relations in industry is the now famous Hawthorne study conducted by the Westinghouse Electric Company at its Hawthorne plant near Chicago over a twelve year period. It began as an industrial engineering study of the effects of different kinds of lighting conditions on the workers' output. It had always been assumed that improved lighting would result in better work, and bad lighting in poorer work. To the surprise of the researchers, the output increased not only when the lighting was improved, but also when it was not improved. The quality of the illumination was found to be of minor consequence. Somewhat baffled, the engineers engaged in further experimentation. The working day of a test group of employees was changed and yet their production increased in both the shorter and the longer work day. Changes were also instituted in the type of work, rest pauses, wages, and kinds of supervision. Despite these modifications, output continued to increase. There was found to be no positive connection between the change of any of these environmental factors and efficiency as measured by increased production. These findings were inconsistent with the accepted precepts of the efficiency experts.

⁶ Eric A. Johnston, "Labor Should Have a Stake in Capitalism," (New York: *The New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 24, 1946).

There then took place a departure from the engineering to the sociological and psychological method of investigation; it was found that the *improvement of human relations in the work group* was the decisive and hitherto unnoticed factor, playing a larger role than hours, wages, and working conditions.

In the experiment, the group of girls had been made to feel that they were important and that they belonged. They were invited to co-operate in the experiment and to help solve an industrial problem. They were allowed to follow their own style of working, were placed on their own, and released from the usual supervision. They were encouraged to develop into an informal social group. Their whole attitude toward their work changed and this new feeling was found to account for the increased productivity that had mystified the efficiency experts.

Later, the experiment was extended to include the huge project of interviewing the twenty thousand employees. In a permissive atmosphere, workers were encouraged to talk freely about their personal affairs, their feelings toward the company, and their jobs. Long suppressed dissatisfactions and grievances were aired. The mere fact of being given this chance to "get things off their chest" had the cathartic effect of engendering better feelings toward the company. So beneficial were the results that a permanent program of counseling was established, with one counselor for each three hundred workers.⁷

THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY IN MANAGEMENT EMERGES

Other conclusions of this painstaking, comprehensive research have served to revolutionize the older concepts of management, with its emphasis on mechanical efficiency.

⁷ See F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Un. Press, 1939). Also F. J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Un. Press, 1941).

It was learned that the worker is not an isolated individual, he *is part of a group*. His behavior is greatly influenced by the informal organization which arises among employees and not just by his technical capacities and working conditions. The business enterprise has to be viewed not only in terms of its formal structure but also in terms of this informal worker-made social structure with its group sentiments and rituals. The worker has a strong inner need to find in his work situation an environment where he feels he has an important place. He responds to authoritarian control with fear and frustration that account for his lack of interest. Orders passed "down the line" by management become more acceptable when the worker is kept informed about and has some part in the making of policies. Given this recognition of the worker, he has an interest in sending information and suggestions up to management at the top.

From *laissez-faire*, followed by the so-called scientific management movement with its authoritarianism, administration has been slowly evolving toward democracy in management. The synthesis of the concepts of efficiency and of democracy, long assumed to be antithetical, proceeded apace, once it was recognized that administration should be concerned with the production of human satisfactions as well as with material things. The trend of democracy in management represents a significant and growing development of our day, as one of its leading exponents had observed in 1939: "Unfortunately my interest in the how of acting more democratically in going organizations was formerly not widely shared. . . . But in recent years, and almost overnight, new influences have come to the fore in our common life. Questions about the way of making democracy live and breathe in all kinds of going associations now clamor for answers from numerous groups."⁸

⁸ Ordway Tead, *New Adventures in Democracy* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1939) Chapter VII.

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT SPREADS

There is increasing evidence that democratic management has been spreading in a variety of fields, including government, the military, institutions, community life, education, and welfare agencies. In the area of government, the T.V.A. stands out not only as a project for the development of the physical resources of a region, but also for its dramatic demonstration of how human resources can be tapped at the grassroots when the democratic method is used. Throughout its history, T.V.A.'s planning and operations were conducted with the collaboration of the people in the region. While the administration and its experts were technically competent and fully empowered to do the job independently, they invited the counsel and co-operation of the region's state, county, and local governments, business groups, private utility companies, farmers' associations, labor councils, and universities. In this voluntary partnership, local initiative was encouraged in the development of the power system, farms, parks, recreational and library facilities. Through public education, conferences, and consultations, citizens were prepared for their acceptance of joint responsibility. They gave of themselves freely because they were made a part of the project which they helped to shape.⁹

THE CARLSON RAIDERS

A new page to military history was added by General Evans Carlson's democratic leadership of his famous Carlson Raiders, symbolized by their rallying cry "Gung ho"—Chinese for "We're together." Their dangerous, daring raids on Japanese installations won for them the admiration of the public. Carlson was a strong exponent of teamwork and camaraderie among his men. Doing away with

⁹ See David E. Lilienthal, *T.V.A.—Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper, 1944).

social distinctions between the enlisted and officer personnel, he insisted that the messman, the truck driver, and the machine gunner were equally important and that what counted was the way a man worked. Regardless of military rank, status was to be earned by the fact of performance; leadership went to those with ability. Battle plans were presented to all the men, democratically discussed, and even changed by consensus. After each raid, an evaluation meeting was held. Officers and men alike appraised the accomplishments, criticized, and made suggestions in a spirit of free discussion. Through this democratic method, Carlson raised the collective fighting power of his men by making each individual soldier feel a sense of counting. His concept of administration was: "When you hire American boys in any peace-time business, you use all they have to offer, their brains, their suggestions, their initiative."¹⁰

THE NORTHFIELD EXPERIMENT

The so-called Northfield Experiment was a project of the British Army Medical Corps to convert a military psychiatric hospital of 800 beds into a community where the patients would participate in management. The aim was to discard the traditional concept of the hospital as a sheltered refuge where the patient is dependent, dominated, and without responsibilities. Patients were no longer to be forced to be like obedient children, but would be allowed to assume responsibility for the hospital community—its plans, procedures, and activities. It was felt that such participation would strengthen the patient's ego, socialize his neurotic drives, and increase his capacity for social relationships. This would prepare him for life in the outside world.

Accordingly, the men became partners with the staff in

¹⁰ See Lucien Hulbard, "Colonel Carlson and His Gung Ho Raiders" (New York: *Reader's Digest*, December, 1943).

the running of the hospital community. Each ward held weekly meetings under the direction of an elected chairman who, together with two other elected delegates, met with the representatives of all the wards each week. The affairs of the ward and the hospital and the daily human problems were dealt with. Sub-committees concerned themselves with social activities, the sports program, the Hospital Club. Individuals acted as hosts to new patients, inviting them to attend dances, socials, and other activities. At all times the decision to participate rested with the patient. Within such a social setting, the individual regained his sense of status and, from the impact with others, an emotional support and ability to relate himself to others.¹¹

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION AT THE GRASSROOTS

In Chicago's back-of-the-yards district and other across-the-tracks neighborhoods so-called People's Organizations have been established. This is a grassroots movement built from among the people themselves and concerned with their day-to-day problems. Leadership is drawn from "the butcher, the baker, and candle-stick maker." They are learning to accept responsibility for the community well-being and how to apply their own powers in solving co-operatively the social problems they face as a group—from juvenile delinquency to housing and economic security. Democracy in these neighborhoods has brought to the individuals a growing respect for themselves and others.¹²

One of the pioneer applications of democracy to the neighborhood was the Social Unit Plan in Cincinnati in 1917. Neighbors were organized under their own leadership to make their districts better places in which to live.

¹¹ See *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, May, 1946.

¹² See Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1945).

Community Councils were set up, housewives became block workers, health and other community services were started. Their program for democratic action had liberated the energies of a large group.¹³

This kind of neighborhood organization is democracy in the town meeting style of New England, an American creation. Thomas Jefferson considered the town meeting "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." Community councils and neighborhood projects of many kinds have sprung up all over the country as agencies of co-operative endeavor. The war-time Block Neighborhood Clubs, originated by the writer in San Francisco, projected the citizenry into a democratic management of community affairs, and represented democracy-in-action on a vast scale.¹⁴

AUTHORITARIANISM IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT CHALLENGED

In the field of education authoritarianism has for long been taken for granted—autocratic control at the top, obedience on the part of those down the line. Orders came from the superintendent to the principal, from him to the teacher, from him to the student. New forces have been working to bring school administration into line with the democratic idea. New voices have been urging the adoption of procedures consistent with the democratic aims of education. In a number of school systems, teachers and students share responsibility for the welfare of the school. At staff meetings, real problems are discussed; free interchange of thinking in the formulation of group purposes is encouraged. Teachers share the administrative responsibility for determining salary schedules, teaching loads,

¹³ See Wilbur C. Phillips, *Adventuring for Democracy* (New York: Social Unit Press, 1938).

¹⁴ Louis H. Blumenthal, "Block Clubs in Action," (*Survey Monthly*, August, 1943) and Baxter and Cassidy, *Group Experience—The Democratic Way* (New York: Harper, 1943).

curriculum changes, building plans, budgets, educational policies, and evaluations. This responsibility has been enthusiastically accepted. It has stimulated creativity and initiative. Teacher-supervisor relations have been improved, the teachers' readiness to extend themselves stepped up, and their feeling of responsibility for the school deepened. This co-operative process in policy determination is viewed not as a concession granted from the top, but rather as a right for the teacher and an obligation of management. In some schools ways have been found to enlist students and patrons in management.¹⁵

THE STATUS OF GROUP-WORK AGENCY MANAGEMENT

The group-work agencies, in common with the other social service organizations, borrowed heavily from the administrative practices of business. The master-servant relationship of board and staff and the order-obey principle were uncritically adopted. The recent trend is toward the development of a philosophy and a practice indigenous to the character of social work itself. Autocracy has been slowly giving way to a group control that is more consistent with the democratic goals inherent in social work, committed as it is to the betterment of persons. There has been increasing attention to social agency administration in the curricula of schools of social work, at conferences, and in the literature.

It was logical to expect the group-work agency to try to apply the democratic idea to management, believing as it does in the worth of the individual and in the development of his personality. Not only in philosophy, but in the methods and techniques of group work, the very instruments for democratic administration were at hand. That such strategic assets have not yet been utilized to

¹⁵ See G. Robert Koopman *et al*, *Democracy in School Administration* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1943); and *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, (Washington, D. C.: Educational Policies Commission).

the full is a challenging problem; group-work agencies are faced by a marked gap between theory and practice, between convictions and their fulfillment.

On the one hand, there has been some advance. In a number of agencies, staff members share responsibility for the formulation of personnel and program policies.¹⁶ The constituency are provided with various forms of participation such as house and departmental councils, junior boards of directors, representation on the board and its committees, and activity planning committees.

On the other hand, there has been frank recognition of the fact that much remains to be done. In many instances, staff members play no part in shaping either general or program policies; some agencies hold staff meetings infrequently or not at all. Most agencies provide no vehicle for membership participation in management. Many of the so-called membership self-government bodies are circumscribed in function and power and are dominated by staff. The opportunity to exercise a determining voice in policy making is not theirs; their decisions are not taken into account, or outcomes are predetermined for them. Devoted to routine matters instead of to vital problems, the groups have become extraneous devices for appeasing the membership. They represent a form of lip-service to the democratic idea, or a covering up of an embarrassing amount of autocracy. As to constituency activity on the board, "it is disappointing after forty years or more to find so few representatives from the neighborhood as members of boards of directors (of social settlements)"¹⁷ There has been a candid acknowledgment from many sources of these weaknesses—an essential first step toward improvement.

¹⁶ See Henry J. Kellerman, *Personnel Standards in Social Group Work and Recreation Agencies* (New York: New York Welfare Council, 1945).

¹⁷ Gaynell Hawkins, *Educational Experiments in Social Settlements* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937) p. 22.

CHAPTER II

THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION

THERE ARE A NUMBER of basic administrative processes that enable an enterprise to achieve unified action and orderly direction in accomplishing its purposes. These processes are *planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting, and budgeting*. Gulick saw these as the major activities of the administrator. He coined the word *POSDCORB*, to represent these basic elements, by combining their initials.¹ We shall briefly touch upon these elements here and later elaborate them more fully in their application to agency operations. We shall include evaluating as a part of reporting, accounting as a part of budgeting (which represents fiscal management), and the two secondary processes of routinizing and standardizing. Gulick's list is an adaptation from that of the French industrialist, Henri Fayol. In 1925, he analyzed administration as a matter of planning, organizing, commanding, co-ordinating, and controlling.² Fayol was one of the first to seek out scientific principles, the application of which he claimed was the primary factor in his success as a manager.

THE BASIS FOR A THEORY OF ADMINISTRATION

The trend toward the establishment of administration as a science has been advanced by Taylor, Gulick, Fayol, and others.³ Follett was one of the first to emphasize that the problem of organization was fundamentally one of

¹ Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, editors, *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937), p. 13.

² Henri Fayol, *General and Industrial Administration* (New York: Pitman, 1930).

³ L. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration* (New York: Harper, 1944) H. S. Dennison, *Organization Engineering* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1931) J. D. Mooney and A. C. Reiley, *Onward Industry* (New York: Harper, 1931) Mary Follett, *Dynamic Administration* (New York: Harper, 1942).

human relations; that the principles of administration could be found in those underlying human organization; and that the same laws apply to all forms of corporate group life, whether it be government, industry, community, the schools, or the church.

Man's group life has demanded a commonness of purpose and unified action, and has been held together by leadership, by structural arrangements, and by orderly procedures. These are precisely the requirements for administration. Each of our institutions "consists of a concept (planning) and a structure (organizing). The structure is a framework, or apparatus, or perhaps only a number of functionaries (staffing and directing) set out to co-operate in prescribed ways at a certain juncture (co-ordinating.)"⁴

The problems of man's relation to man and his social behavior in group association have been the concern of philosophy, religion, political science, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. All of these yield insights into human behavior that are applicable to the business enterprise. For business is only another form of human activity. The whole administrative structure must therefore be seen as an organized series of processes, arrangements, and methods devised to achieve the orderly co-operation of individuals through whose teamwork the purpose of the enterprise can be achieved.

It represents the machinery which is essential to the implementation of democracy in management. There are those who are trying to practice democracy without an efficient administrative structure with which to undergird it. Democracy, which is difficult at best, thus becomes overburdened and impeded. Only the administratively strong can hope to be democratic, and it is fair to state that the extent to which *democracy* in administration is

⁴William G. Sumner, "Institution and Mores," in *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). The parenthetical insertions are ours.

possible is measured by the extent to which management is efficient. Democracy is weakened by the wishful thinking of its friends who expect it to work miracles and overlook the means to translate its ideals into action. A consideration, therefore, of the basic elements of administration is of vital concern.

PLANNING

Planning is a looking ahead. It is the deliberate preparation of a blueprint of things to be done at some future time. It is the substitution of direction for drift. Its aim is to guide the course of action in an orderly way on the basis of appropriate study rather than on conjecture. Through analysis and interpretation of pertinent data—the experiences of the enterprise and that of similar ones, changing conditions in and out of the agency, and new technical knowledge—planning strives to arrive at conclusions in harmony with the factors in a situation. The survey is a good example of study which underlies planning.

A program of action is only one of the aims of planning. If this program is to succeed, the plan must not overlook, as is sometimes the case, such concerns as agency purpose and values, the methods by which the activity is to be carried forward, and the technical and human resources at hand.

Planning Must Be Realistic

A sound plan is realistic in seeing that the available resources in terms of staff, finances, and facilities are adequate for the end in view, and that the plan is understood and accepted by those concerned. A plan that is beyond the competence of staff, the understanding of the board, or the readiness of the membership to accept creates a sense of futility and frustration. Also, planning is at fault when it fails to make maximum use of existing resources before recommending new ones; when its objectives are so indefinite that there is no sense of direction; and when

all sorts of new proposals are accepted that are inconsistent with agency purpose. In the last instance, the result may be the confusion and ineffectiveness of scattered energies.

Planning involves prediction and therefore requires both imagination and courage. But, since the future is subject to unpredictable change, planning must be kept flexible to permit the modifications required by new situations.

The Implementation of Planning

Planning includes consideration of the means by which plans are to be carried out. First, the plan should fix the time when the course of action is to be taken. This is the act of scheduling. Then the individual responsible for the execution of the task should be determined. This is the act of assigning. Next, provision must be made for weaving the proposed purposes and policies into the ongoing life of the agency at appropriate points, such as program building, staff selection, character of the facilities, membership relations, and organizational structure.

Applying the participation principle, planning should draw in all the individuals whose interests are involved, not only for the advantages of pooled experience and knowledge, but also because of the fact that plans are more readily realized when the individuals who must carry them out play a part in making them. Another value is the education of the participant that comes from sharing in the accumulation and analysis of the planning data and in the process of working out the plan.

ORGANIZING

The task of organizing is to create a formal framework in which the parts of the enterprise are organically related to each other. There is established a division of labor, with each division defined in terms of its relation to the whole and the other parts, and in terms of its authority, responsibilities, and duties. The aim of organizing is to

clarify functions in advance; to establish an orderly flow of diverse functions in the network of relationships; and to fashion a unity out of diversity so aptly described in the familiar verse:

"We are not divided, all one body we,
One in hope and doctrine, one in charity."

Such an orderly pattern releases energies that would otherwise become depleted by confusion and conflict. Duplication of effort, irresponsibility, and "passing the buck" are reduced or completely eliminated. Supervision is made easier.

The functional divisions need to be coherent and logical, but at the same time workable. The workable pattern may sometimes have to take precedence over the logical one. There is no single basis for organizational divisions. An agency may be departmentalized along the lines of age-groupings, sex, or the nature of the activities whether these be clubs, physical education, or adult education. Flexibility is another principle. The basis of organization may have to be adapted to a change in personnel or because of new concepts of practice.

Centralization of Control

There are other fundamental principles of organization which have been validated by experience and out of a knowledge of human behavior. All the operational work of a group requires centralization of authority and a clear-cut allocation of responsibility. This is in keeping with the age-old experience of man as distilled in the old adage, "Too many cooks spoil the broth." Mixed up lines of authority and responsibility make operations confusedly complicated. The officials find themselves in a perpetual state of unrest and conflict because of which their time and energy are taken away from the more creative tasks of leadership. The location of failures and the assessing of responsibility are made very difficult.

Delegation of Authority

Another basic principle is the delegation of authority in a measure commensurate with the responsibilities imposed. The chief executive, for example, needs to be free to select his staff members, assign them their tasks, and replace them when necessary. Without such power, he can justifiably shift accountability for ineffectiveness on shoulders other than his own. Without a competent staff of his own choosing, he is denied the very tools required for the accomplishments expected of him. This does not necessarily mean that all authority is concentrated at the top; it needs to be distributed down the line to other staff members to the extent necessary for the effective discharge of their responsibilities.

Definition of Work Relationships

The human weakness of love for power has always made restrictions necessary in the interest of a balanced control. The relationships between board and executive must be clearly defined—to avoid competition for power between them; to prevent the board from playing politics or favorites; to keep its members from usurping the executive's functions; and to prevent the executive from trespassing upon board functions. The principle is generally recognized that it is the task of the board to draft policy and of the executive to administer within the framework of that policy. The violation of this principle is not only a case of bad manners, administratively speaking, but is also a disservice to the agency, because it undercuts effective management. However, the lines need not be too sharply drawn. It is the duty of the board to assist and advise the executive, as it is the executive's responsibility to provide the board with helpful information and recommendations.

The interrelationships of the component parts of the agency—board, committees, staff, and membership—are defined in several ways. Relationships are determined legally

in the bylaws, formally in the day-by-day decisions made at official meetings of these groups, and informally through the voluntary acceptance of the organizational principles herein described. Relationships are clarified in the organizational chart with its picture of the administrative structure; in the worker's job analysis; and in the handbooks for the board and for the membership. Further clarification occurs in individual or group discussion brought on by conflict situations around ill-defined relationships.

Policies and Regulations

Relationships are also defined by the establishment of general policies and specific regulations, since these prescribe a common course of conduct. Policies and regulations are essential for economy and uniformity of operations. Laws and rules, while they impose restrictions which may prove irritating, nevertheless fix an agreed-upon pattern of behavior that makes it possible for the various agency components to function on an equal footing with a minimum of conflict. However, there are times when regulations become too rigid and formalistic and add up to so much red-tape. Such a criticism, when justly made, provides the occasion for re-evaluation and modification.

On the other hand, the relaxation of rules may produce more problems than it solves. Management can become hopelessly involved in the attempt to make exceptions and adjustments on an individual basis. It would be following a will-of-the-wisp for management to proceed on the premise that it can please everybody all of the time. It must have the courage to be unpopular on occasions when the maintenance of effectiveness in services is at stake. But the need for the sound education of the constituent groups and for their co-operation in the formulation of procedures should not be overlooked.

Stability of the organizational structure is essential for agency security; frequent or carelessly devised changes

place it on shaky ground. Considerable time is required for the re-education and re-adjustment of individuals to new institutional modes of procedures. Management can become so preoccupied with these that its other responsibilities suffer. Nevertheless, the agency, to survive, must adapt to new requirements; it must give up outmoded practices that lead to stagnation and decreasing agency usefulness. In the interest of flexibility, the formalities required for effecting change should not be unwieldy. Avenues of contact between administration and the component groups should be so regular and effective that opinions and sentiments easily flow both ways. The providing of such channels is a function of democratic management.

CO-ORDINATING

The preliminary step in co-ordinating is the establishment of the administrative structure through the process of organizing. Co-ordinating is the operating counterpart of organizing with which it has the common aim of seeing that all parts from top to bottom work together harmoniously as a unit toward the accomplishment of the agency's goal. Organizing deals with structural arrangements, while co-ordinating deals with people—their feelings, aptitudes, and interests. The object of co-ordinating is to achieve smooth, unified operations and singleness of purpose. It aims also to enable the worker to contribute his best and to derive personal satisfactions from his job. To this end, it must be kept flexible and susceptible to necessary changes.

Methods of Co-ordinating

Six methods for co-ordinating can be identified. First, a sound organizational structure must be created in which there are clearly defined, non-intersecting lines of responsibility which will facilitate the functioning of all. Second, there must be aroused and maintained a com-

elling belief in the agency's goals, so that enthusiasm and singleness of purpose are generated. These bind the individuals into a unity. Third, this sense of togetherness is advanced when, through opportunities for sharing in management, each individual develops a stake in the enterprise. This sense of togetherness is further achieved when individuals derive personal satisfactions on the job that make them emotionally ready for contributing to the whole. Fourth, in the various governing bodies, there should be representatives of all the constituent parts who can speak for and safeguard their group interests. In the free give-and-take of discussion, common ground can be explored and differences can be aired and worked out before they lead to conflict. Fifth, the process of co-ordinating should start in the beginning stages of any situation when it is still in a fluid state, suitable for the interweaving of ideas. The meeting of minds becomes more difficult at a later period when thinking has already been crystallized. Sixth, instead of reserving conferences for special occasions, for example, after a difficulty has arisen, provision should be made for continuous contact at regular periods. In regular meetings relationships are established, mutual understanding is advanced, and the techniques of conferencing acquired.

STAFFING

Selection of the Worker

Systems of management, no matter how scientific, are not inherently self-sustaining or self-renewing. For their maintenance, they must rely upon more, and not less, competence in staff. With untrained, incompetent personnel, management becomes threatened and must redouble its efforts to prevent a breakdown. The quality of administration is determined at the point of staff selection. Accordingly, the big job of staffing is the painstaking and discriminating choice of workers. The factors of personality, education, experience, and skills need to be weighed

judiciously in the light of the job requirements. Since executives place different weights on these factors, there would appear to be no single formula for getting the right person for a specific job. Job requirements differ. Generally speaking, assuming technical competence, selection would involve satisfactory assurance on such questions as: Is the applicant pleasant and agreeable to work with? Is he one who would develop loyalty to the organization? Would he occupy the job for a reasonably long period? Are his interests in harmony with those of the job? Could he adjust to organizational policies and procedures? Could he carry forward responsibilities on his own? Can he learn easily? Does he have emotional blocks that would interfere with his work?

It may be found that a somewhat less conspicuous individual whose loyalty can be counted on, whose tenure will be fairly long and who can get along with others will, in the long run, prove to be a greater asset to the agency than a superior person who is unstable and short-lived on the job. In many instances, though not always, the worker's personal qualities need to be given more weight than his technical competence. Technical competence without dependability, continuity of service, and a real interest may in the long run prove less of an asset to the agency than would appear on the surface. Not every worker needs to be highly creative and forceful, as long as there is strong leadership in the staff. The highly able individual may quickly exhaust the possibilities of a job whose limitations will then dissatisfy him. Rapid staff turnover can be expensive and disrupting, and make for an unstable organization.

Training the Worker

The second task of staffing is to introduce the new worker to the agency and his job and, through training, to make him more proficient. The new worker, however experienced, has much to learn about his new organization

—its history, traditions, purposes, policies, and procedures together with all the angles about board, staff, and membership. He must be helped in three main directions—to acquire agency background, to learn how to use his skills effectively and satisfactorily, and to find his place as a member of the group. This means not only providing him with written materials such as handbooks, manuals, and a job analysis; it means not only educational supervision, but also making him feel that he belongs. For this, the providing of opportunities for sharing in the responsibility for the agency as a whole is one of the most effective means.

Training needs to be conceived not only as a matter of pouring in information, but also as one of drawing out, through guidance, the capacities of the worker so that he gets the satisfaction of a full utilization of his powers. While the training is more intense in the early stages, it continues on through his entire period of employment. Throughout the process, the personal relationship between the worker and the executive or supervisor is by far the most important factor.

The new worker must also be helped to master the management aspects of his job. At staff meetings, supervisory conferences, and in the day-to-day supervision, it is profitable to give attention to management methods which, unless learned, will interfere with his full functioning. This is especially applicable to those who dislike management details. One must deal with them in terms of their feeling about management. Where the work of his predecessor has been well organized, and where agency routines and procedures have been well established, the new worker fits more readily into his duties and is carried along by the momentum of the on-going enterprise.

Promoting Tenure

The final business of staffing is the promotion of worker tenure. Staff selection and training represent an invest-

ment of time and resources for which management strives to seek a maximum return to the agency. Stability of employment enriches the quality of the worker's performance. Progressively he becomes an increasing asset. Management must provide the conditions conducive to tenure. Gratifications for the worker as a person must be made possible through the job. Satisfactory employment practices having to do with working conditions, compensation, hours of work, vacations, sick leave, retirement plans, and the like, must be established.

DIRECTING

Directing, the seeing that things which should be done are done, is the executive aspect of administration. Directing consists of the making of decisions, the assignment of responsibility, and the delegating of the authority required for the carrying out of the responsibility. It also includes the use of controls that assure the completion of the task according to plan; and the exercise of personal leadership that generates enthusiastic interest in the activity.

In one sense, directing is a continuous movement from one decision to another. The judicious appraisal of the factors in a given situation calling for a decision, the selection of a course of action deemed the wisest from among several alternatives, and the conclusive determination of the question in precise, clear terms—this act of deciding can be most taxing for the executive. It involves the risk of his being wrong, of hurting some, and of irritating others. This is the chance the administrator must take, for he must act if business is to be expedited. The staff has a right to look to him for decisive action. Procrastination leaves them painfully "up in the air" and weakens morale.

Distribution of Responsibility

For the carrying out of decisions, responsibility must be distributed. The assignment should be clear and

understood by the individual. He should be provided with the necessary background information and should be influenced to a favorable acceptance of the responsibility. To this end, procedures are kept flexible and the executive encourages criticism and suggestions. The worker is blocked from throwing himself wholeheartedly into a project when the executive is authoritative and unapproachable.

The assignment also calls for a clear-cut allocation of responsibility that is undivided. It is difficult otherwise to locate the sources of failure and to fix the blame when there is faulty performance. The sense of accountability is weakened when diffused.

At the same time, responsibility cannot be adequately discharged without authority that is commensurate with it. Accountability implies power. Without authority there is bound to be loss of effectiveness. An individual who is answerable for the performance of a duty is entitled to the authority necessary to get his task satisfactorily accomplished. It should be added, however, that he should place greater reliance on the power derived from sound leadership.

A frequent cause of organizational ineffectiveness is the tendency for an executive to retain for himself all authority and to be reluctant to share it with others. His emotional unwillingness or technical inability to delegate leaves him buried under a mountain of detail, shuts him off from the larger aspects of his work, and precludes the development of the capacities and enthusiasm of his staff.

The Use of Controls

The delegation of responsibility entails the use of controls that give assurance that the assignment is being properly carried out. Controlling is a continuous activity purposely aimed at influencing results so they will be in line with the objectives set. Depending on the nature of the executive, the staff, and the situation, the methods and

devices for control vary from a very close inspection and checking to a complacent, easy-going type of supervision. Where group morale is good, effective controls are self-generated by the worker out of his intrinsic concern for the enterprise.

These inner checks, however, are not sufficient if maximum effectiveness is to be achieved. They need to be supplemented with the outer controls of first-hand observation, educational supervision, the measurement of performance against criteria, reports, and other supervisory instruments. A balance needs to be maintained. Actually, a work-group is so constituted that a large burden is placed upon it when all the emphasis is on inner discipline and the various external supervisory devices are neglected. Group morale should be developed by all means; but outer arrangements serve to sustain it. At the same time, major reliance on checking and inspection can not hope to solve the problem when a group has low morale.

The character of group life is too complex and elusive to expect perfection in controls. It is next to impossible to run an enterprise with uniform precision. Management cannot be squeezed into a simple formula that will completely overcome the human mistakes of omission and commission. While it is a duty of management to safeguard the interests of the enterprise through controls, it must be ready to settle for a reasonable score of effectiveness. Excessive controls, aimed to counteract weakness, may be more than offset by a lessened concern for the job on the part of the worker.

Personal Leadership

Finally, in directing, there is the important element of personal leadership. Workers are largely influenced by the quality of human relations between themselves and the executive. The example he sets in his working habits, his fairness, the backing he gives them, his interest in them

as persons—these warmly attract the worker. His efficiency may leave them with only a sense of distant respect. As a leader, the executive's focus of attention is on management in terms of human beings. Through democratic methods, he creates a social climate in which workers get the feeling that they are an integral part of the organization in which, as persons, they can have satisfying and developmental experiences on the job. He does not place heavy reliance on his authority but tries to elicit the worker's favorable response to the acceptance of responsibilities. Out of the diversity of individuals, he tries to develop a team spirit, a oneness of purpose and a community of interest in the enterprise as a whole.

CHAPTER III

THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED

REPORTING

THE PERSONS WHO MAKE UP the component parts of an enterprise need to be kept informed at all times of what is happening throughout the agency if they are to operate as a unit. The lines of intercommunication between board, staff, membership, and community need to be kept open so that each will know what the other is doing. This is essential, since these groups operate interdependently.

It means better work because the individual is enabled to see the relation of his position to that of the others. He also gets the feeling that his efforts are not isolated but are rather a part of the whole. This happens, for example, when at a staff meeting there is presented useful information about developments in the community, in the board, in the membership, and in the various agency departments, all of which have a bearing upon the work of staff. Such information can also be communicated at meetings of the board and membership, or through house organs, and other publications. Keeping the lines of communication open is the function of the process of reporting. It is the intelligence division of management.

Reporting Organizes Information About the Agency

Another function of reporting is to engage in the organized collection, analysis, and interpretation of the facts so as to provide an objective knowledge of the affairs of the agency. By bringing together isolated data so as to point up meaningful relationships and implications, reporting provides a proper perspective.

It also serves as a basic guide in planning, co-ordinating, and directing, as well as in formulating criteria for practice. The report becomes an instrument for administrative control; it enables the executive to get a firm hold on the agency situation. Reports, when they contain information suitable for comparative study, can reveal significant trends and point up strengths and weaknesses of agency performance. They service the further purpose of providing material useful in the education of board, staff, membership, and community.

Inadequate Reporting a Detriment to the Agency

The absence of adequate information about constituency, activities, policies, and practices places the agency at a decided disadvantage. Inadequate reports cannot present the significance of the services rendered. They thereby fail to do full justice to an agency that may be doing a good job. Planning, policy making, and program building become matters of guess-work. The constructive values of comparative information are lost. Time and energy are wasted on projects when reference cannot be had to recorded information on the experiences of the past, how activities worked out, how problems were handled, and how results were secured. Management keeps marking time when it cannot take advantage of the recorded data of the past.

The Record System

Reporting relies heavily on a system of routine records, soundly administered. To begin with, economy of effort is achieved through the application of the principle of integration. To illustrate: the daily, monthly, and annual records need to be geared into each other. The daily record should provide the cumulative information for the monthly so that last minute scurrying around for additional facts is not required. This should hold true for the monthly in relation to the annual record. In addition,

records need to be adjusted to the requirements of reporting to national and interagency bodies.

In the next place, the over-all responsibility for the record system needs to be lodged in a single individual. If the work is not to prove an intolerable burden, he should be the kind of person who has a positive liking and feeling for the gathering, compiling, and tabulating of statistical data. In addition to being technically competent, he must be sufficiently acquainted with agency operations to be able to see implications of fact-gathering in terms of agency goals, constituency, program, and public relations. Agency background enables him to select from the great mass of available material only that which is pertinent and significant.

The Form

The base of the record system is the use of the *form*. The form is a convenient carrier of information; it is a formalized instrument for the systematic gathering of facts. Form-making is a precise discipline in itself. When carelessly handled, the result may be a great amount of unnecessary clerical work.

In the first place, the form should be specifically designed to meet the particular recording needs of the agency at any given time. When borrowed, it needs to be critically adapted to the requirements peculiar to the specific agency, because indiscriminate copying will only prove troublesome and only partially effective.

Second, one must determine how the new form gears in with other forms—whether it is essential, or whether an existing form, with or without modification, can do. Without this precaution there will be such a proliferation of forms that they become unwieldy. If the system is not to fall of its own weight it must be kept down to economical and workable proportions. Oversystematization can become a weakness.

Third, the design should be as simple as possible,

severely reduced to the significant, pertinent items, and with the objective in mind of keeping down to the absolute minimum the amount of clerical work required for processing.

Fourth, the items should be so clearly formulated as to be free from the danger of misinterpretation. The items should be brief, arranged in orderly sequence, and adequately spaced to allow adequate room for the information.

Fifth, the design should include the date of construction, the number of copies made, and a serial identification, so that the form can be appropriately filed for easy accessibility.

Sixth, attached to the form should be a sheet of instructions detailing how, when, where, and by whom it is to be filled, routed, and filed. Whenever possible, these instructions should be built directly into the body of the form itself as a permanent guide, since a separate instruction sheet may be lost, misfiled, or overlooked.

The final step is the experimental use of the new form to test its workability and to uncover modifications necessary for its final acceptance.

The Record

The aim of the form is to facilitate the making of the record. The record is a tool intended to serve some practical purpose, whether it be for administrative control, evaluation, or for future planning. Usability of the record becomes the acid test which, when applied, prevents the system from becoming cumbersome and from accumulating a vast amount of dead material.

Record revision is an ever-present need brought on by the fluctuating character of agency operations. The purpose for which the record was originally established may no longer exist, or may have undergone modification. The need for focusing attention on certain information may become altered by new circumstances. Records in-

stituted for the purpose of analyzing weak points in operations can be reduced or eliminated once there is marked improvement. Newly introduced records may render useless some of the older ones. Shortage of staff may result in the shakedown of the system to simpler dimensions.

Usually it takes a felt difficulty to start the process of record revision for this is a laborious task easily deferred because of other work pressures. However, periodic evaluation should become a matter of routine, and the fixed duty of one individual. In his supervisory capacity, and because he sees the picture as a whole, he can more readily detect the need for record revision than can other staff workers.

Many workers continue a record that has become outmoded or unessential without being aware of it, or without calling it to the attention of the supervisor. The result is useless effort and wasted time. It is not that these workers are disinterested in their job. There may be several reasons for it: they may have become too grooved in routine to develop the objectivity that leads to analysis; they may hesitate to make suggestions that to them imply criticism of the supervisor; they may feel that the making of corrections is not their business but that of the supervisor; or they may have such confidence in him that it leads them to believe that he would have made revisions if any were necessary.

Staff Attitudes to Recording Must Be Constructively Dealt With

Basically, the problem is one of improving the attitude of workers toward record-keeping. They frequently see it as a chore, a necessary but unattractive evil to be gotten around or over with. Professional workers may see in the record system a diabolic device for interfering with their other work. There is a reason for this emotional resistance. Here is a depersonalized, routinized procedure calling for implicit obedience to the demands of a rigid

form and representing a kind of regimentation quite at variance with the initiative and freedom otherwise accorded the worker.

Co-operative Relations in Recording

Not only must staff attitudes be constructively dealt with, but the whole recording system must be administered in terms of its human aspects as well as in terms of its mechanics. Record-keeping has to be "sold" and "re-sold," by involving the worker in the process of devising the form, formulating the pattern of the record, and in the later revising.

Before forms are reprinted, they should, as a matter of routine, be submitted to the staff for their suggestions. The executive must constantly present evidence of the usefulness of the records to the workers individually, and to the agency as a whole. Thus, they will see that their labors serve a real purpose. How decisions and problem-solving have been aided by the recorded data can be pointed out. The actual records can be read, discussed, and their techniques analyzed. All of this can earn for the system a higher estimate in the minds of the workers.

The workers need help to see that records represent an integral part of operations. Opportunity should be provided them for examining all phases of the system and for seeing how their own recording fits in as an important part of it. They should be given individual instruction, for it must be remembered that the mass of forms and records proves very confusing at first. Under guided practice, the mechanics of record-keeping lose their formidable aspect, and their usefulness becomes more evident. As with other operational procedures, the workers' acceptance needs to be aimed for.

The Principle of Reliability

It must be admitted that record-keeping is not an unmixed good. When overemphasized, it can build up in

the worker a false sense of values. His desire to make a good showing in quantitative terms may divert his attention from the quality of his service to clientele. In some cases it may result in untrustworthy reports, especially regarding attendance figures.

Reliability in other respects is a stern test of record-keeping. Decisions can prove costly when based on statistics that are not gathered uniformly and systematically. By themselves, facts and figures are not enlightening without an interpretation of their distinctive significance. Volume of attendance at activities is misleading as an index of participation without taking into account the number of different individuals involved, the percentage of the entire membership represented, and whether the attendance was in mass or small-group activities. Each set of figures tells a different story that needs to be discriminatingly evaluated for the valid basis of determining participation.

The number of different individual users on any given day is a more reliable index than the total attendance in which one member using three different facilities may be counted three times. Again, the ratio of actual users to the potential participants as represented by the total membership is a sounder gauge of use than the number of different individuals who each day may be the same limited group. Further, the attendance of one hundred at a single mass activity represents a lesser value than the same attendance of one hundred in five small-group activities. Figures that seem important but which do not tell the whole story can be misleading.

The Principles of Accessibility and Economy

Two more principles can be indicated. One has to do with easy accessibility to accumulated records for reference purposes. Greater use of records is achieved when they are logically arranged, kept up to date, routinely filed, and conveniently located. A system of loose-leaf binders

facilitates inspection. When access is complicated and burdensome, the undue amount of time required discourages the use of records.

Next, since the recording of *all* operations is prohibitive economy of effort is required. There is an ever-present necessity of reducing the system to the basic essentials. There is not the same pressing need for the regular recording of all data. When information is required intermittently or for some non-recurring purpose, it is more economical to make spot studies or to draw upon existing depositories of data, such as interoffice memoranda, diaries, and minutes of meetings of board, committees, and staff. In this way, a cumbersome oversystematization can be avoided.

EVALUATING

The process of reporting includes evaluating. As a study of what has been happening the record supplies the knowledge for the administrative task of evaluating. This task is one of determining how well the agency is doing the job it is supposed to do. It is the taking of stock to discover what the position of the agency is and to devise ways of improving that position. Evaluating, as the term implies, searches out the values of the work. It does it through the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the facts. It does this informally and formally.

The Informal Appraisal

Informal appraisal takes place in the day-to-day flow of events. At points of difficulty, the problem is met by examining the specific situation and devising ways of meeting it. This may necessitate the evaluation of agency practices and policies. The same holds true for solving the problems of planning, co-ordinating, and directing. Evaluation is integral to all the administrative processes.

Discussions at board and staff meetings around partic-

ular issues may branch out into the examination and appraisal of the underlying factors. Criticisms or suggestions from the membership and the community can become the springboard for intensive study. In the sharing of ideas at professional conferences and at interagency meetings, there is the concomitant process of noting the extent to which one agency's work squares with the thinking of other groups. This may also occur in reading a book, listening to a lecture, or in a casual conversation about professional concerns.

The Formal Appraisal

In this informal method, however, many things may not be touched upon, and for them a more deliberate and systematic approach becomes necessary. This may involve the more formal method of a "Gallup Poll," a questionnaire, a self-survey, or the outside survey. This last represents evaluation *par excellence* with its exhaustive and comprehensive examination of the total picture, including historical and demographic data, objectives, program, personnel, organization, administration, membership, and finances. In addition to the clarifying perspective the survey supplies, its great value is in the pointing up of objectively derived recommendations for improving services. The effectiveness of the survey in terms of raising agency standards and outlook is enhanced when the board and staff are involved in it and work in close collaboration at every step. They then have a stake in the recommendations which as a result have a better chance of becoming implemented. In addition, the survey as a group process becomes for them an educational experience. The survey by an outside expert is a major operation not to be undertaken lightly, for it involves considerable time, energy, and expense, as well as the courage to face up to realities.¹

¹ For a comprehensive description of the survey, see Arthur L. Swift, Jr., *Make Your Agency More Effective* (New York: Association Press, 1941).

The Use of Yardsticks in Evaluation

Facts become most productive when appraised in the light of standards, or yardsticks, by means of which performance can be measured. In the group-work field, they represent a formulation of principles whose application underlies desirable practices. However, to a large extent judgments are subjectively based. This remains inevitable until the social sciences can provide more precise measuring instruments for evaluating human relations. In the more tangible area of management, more specific standards, to be discussed later, have emerged.

Management has the obligation to undertake periodic studies because they can save the enterprise from making costly mistakes. Sound decisions need to be based on factual data that can provide a clear understanding of the changing trends and conditions of which the agency otherwise may be unaware. A knowledge of the internal and external factors affecting performance can provide a sense of assurance. This knowledge also can keep the agency from wastefully groping in the dark and from going off in all directions. In the absence of factual evidence, it is precarious to take things for granted.

BUDGETING

Sound fiscal management provides the stability essential for advancing the agency's objectives and services. The use of proper methods in preparing budgets and in supervising income and expenditures underlies agency effectiveness. A haphazard and impractical financial program adversely affects personnel and services; it diminishes confidence in the agency. It is a major responsibility of the administrator to develop sound financial procedures because, as with his other duties, these facilitate agency functioning and serve as instruments of control.

The Budget as a Blueprint

The budget is a financial blueprint showing the source and amount of income and the purposes for which the money is to be expended. It is a plan in financial terms for implementing the objectives and services of the enterprise. Like all planning, the process of budgeting is one of synthesizing the experiences of the past with the estimated trends of the future. It takes into account contingencies which may affect income and expenditures, or result in the expansion or contraction of services.

Flexibility

The budget represents a prediction, and since the future is uncertain it needs to be flexible enough to allow for factors in addition to those originally estimated. The exact cost of a new project cannot always be computed. It is not always possible to make a thorough check on the financial implications it may have for the other phases of operations.

Psychological Factors

Beyond these statistical calculations, psychological factors need to be taken into account. The extent of the agency's aliveness and flexibility will be reflected in the budget. The budget will be affected when the agency is dynamic enough to expand program in response to new social needs, courageous enough to eliminate unessential services, and resourceful enough to develop new sources of revenue. The budget cannot be disassociated from the quality of agency leadership.

The Budget as Control

The activity of the agency is carried on within the framework of the budget, which represents an official requirement. There are in it the expectancies both of cer-

tain income to be earned from various sources and of the effective expenditures of money. In this regard, the budget serves as a guide to operations, and an instrument for the control of expenditures. It also serves as a means of appraising agency accomplishments, as becomes the case when there is failure to reach the amount of budgeted income.

The Budget as an Instrument of Evaluation

Budget-making is more than preparing a financial schedule. Budgeting, since it represents the agency program as translated into financial terms, inescapably becomes the occasion for evaluating that program. Because of the necessity for justifying the budgetary items, there takes place a careful scrutiny of administration, personnel, and services. Such an examination represents a purposeful and hence fruitful educational occasion for learning about the agency on the part of the board, upon whom devolves the ultimate responsibility for budget authorization. Because of this benefit and because of the values of shared participation, budget preparation should be a co-operative process involving board, committees, and staff.

ACCOUNTING

Accounting is the accurate and systematic recording of income and expenditures, assets and liabilities, so that organized information is conveniently available to provide a picture of the financial condition of the enterprise. It serves as the means of controlling expenditures with reference to the budget requirements and the funds at the agency's disposal. It safeguards the proper collection of funds due the enterprise and the discharge of financial obligations to salaried employees and merchants. It provides the data upon which budgets are based. It is an integral part of operations, for without this foundation

for sound business practice, agency service becomes less effective.

Accounting as Control

The financial data provided by an adequate accounting system can serve as a means of interpreting and controlling operations. Estimates of unit costs, per capita expenditures, percentage of self-support, ratio of expenditures for salaries, maintenance, and program are made possible. Significant trends can be uncovered from a comparative study of the various items of income and expenditures over a period of years.

Careful accounting points up fluctuations in income from membership dues, guest admissions, towel fees, room rentals, expenditures for light, heat, water, replacements, and salaries that have implications for management. The search for the reasons for fluctuations in these and other items may reveal weaknesses in operations. An increased water bill, without a commensurate increase in building use, may lead to the discovery of leaking pipes. A falling off of revenue from towels, despite a mounting attendance in the physical education department, may uncover careless management at that point. A sharp reduction of revenue from membership dues can become the occasion of checking on the adequacy of program, facilities, activity schedules, and personnel to determine the cause. Without the essential financial information, management misses these signals.

Accounting as a Community Obligation

In addition, systematic financial recording enables management to discharge its obligation to render an accounting to the community. The public that supplies the funds must know how they were spent if confidence in the agency is to be maintained. Only through a sound accounting system is it possible to determine the extent to

which the moneys have been used wisely, for the purpose intended. Good public relations demand agency certification of its financial practices.

The Principle of Economy

While the keeping of books is a technical specialty, the executive must be sufficiently at home with them to control their scope and function. Auditors may indiscriminately impose upon the agency the systems of business, when a less elaborate plan could have sufficed, with a saving of expense and effort. The special responsibility of the executive is to see that the system is adjusted to the demands of agency operations and that it is kept as simple and as economical to maintain as is possible. Within the framework of the minimum technical requirements of accounting, he needs to keep the system from becoming too elaborate by asking such questions as: How necessary is the information provided? Is it still useful? Can it be eliminated without harm?

While he is better qualified to relate accounting to operations, the executive must still rely heavily upon the judgment of the bookkeeper and the outside auditor. There is no substitute for the authoritative annual audit by a certified public accountant which together with monthly audits provides a desirable sense of assurance.

The Principle of Co-operation

Another function of the executive in this area is to bring the staff into a sympathetic appreciation of the place accounting has in the organizational picture. It may appear to them as some kind of esoteric practice entirely isolated and unnecessary as far as their specialized activities are concerned. Fiscal control and the work of the bookkeeper become impaired when staff members minimize the importance of financial details.

If they are to accept responsibility, they need to be made partners in this process. The interrelation of accounting

with their programs of activity can be pointed out. The accounting department can furnish data useful to their functions. At staff meetings, interpretation of program can be made on the basis of financial data. Activity, departmental, and agency financial reports can be discussed and their usefulness to program indicated. Economy of expenditures and adequate financial recording can be analyzed in terms of their being part of good professional practice.

ROUTINIZING

Routinizing and standardizing are secondary processes which are auxiliary to all the processes of administration from planning through to budgeting and accounting. They represent prescribed courses of action that are regularly followed. They are to administration what habits are to an individual—automatic ways of response. The purpose of establishing fixed ways of doing things is to achieve economy and smoothness of effort. Only as the recurring operational details are cast into a groove can energies be released for their fuller application to the significant and creative aspects of an enterprise. Time and energy become frittered away when repetitive situations must each time become a matter for decision. Much of the busy-ness in management activity develops from the absence of fixed methods of procedure, an inadequate understanding of them, and the failure to designate responsibility along its course. These are matters which once determined should be taken for granted.

To routinize is to lay out the path to be followed for each unit of work, so that the work flows from person to person, from desk to desk in an orderly, logical, and fixed sequence. For example, there is the routine of enrolling new members: the signing of the application blank, the payment of dues, the deposit in the cash register, the issuance of the receipt, and all the intermediary book-keeping steps to the making out of the membership card.

This procedure remains the same at all times for all the workers involved. Provisions for exceptions may be made but these too are routinized.

Routines Conserve Energy

The larger and more complex the agency, the greater is the need for routines. Without a clearly defined flow of work, operations would become bogged down with the necessity of workers to have to stop and think about a host of details. More attention can be given to the creative aspects of the administrative processes when as many mechanical details as possible can be quickly disposed of by routines. The mechanics of planning, for example, require the fixing of times of the year for staff conferences, the preparation of the plan, its discussion over a certain number of meetings, the typing of the plan, its distribution to various members of the staff, its implementation, and ultimate appraising of the results achieved. All these steps, when reduced to a schedule to be followed, automatically carry the plan forward. To deliberate as to these mechanics on each occasion when the planning process is launched is an unnecessary waste of energy that could more constructively be used in the planning itself.

Routines Need Constant Review

Routines, once laid down, are not self-maintaining. They need to be supervised and deliberately checked at regular periods. Special occasions become logical times for appraisal, such as the induction of a new worker into the routines, or when the flow of work is impeded, or when there is friction among individuals growing out of a misunderstanding of their respective functions in the routine, or because of personality conflicts. The appraisal should determine whether the steps in the routine are logical, orderly, and justifiable; whether they impede the flow, are duplicated elsewhere, or fit in with operations as a whole.

Revision of routines and standardized practices must become the special responsibility of the executive or supervisor since, in many cases, the worker is too close to the job to become aware of the need for changes. Critical evaluation must come from a more objective source. These changes should not lightly be made since they may entail a considerable expenditure of energy and time in the consequent retraining of all down the line, and may involve many adjustments across the whole network of procedures.

STANDARDIZING

When the best method for doing each piece of work involved in a routine is found, it should be adhered to as a regular, that is, a standardized practice. The reduction of the many operations to a fixed pattern is the function of standardizing. It does not aim at perfection, but tries to find the simplest, most desirable method. By so doing, it establishes adequate control over operations, and also relieves the individual of the work of giving procedures time-consuming, recurring attention. When the best way of preparing the pay-roll, minutes, reports, meeting notices, has been found, it is set up as a model to be followed.

Standardizing makes for consistency in operations with economy of effort. These contribute to the smooth running of the enterprise. Standardization, which denotes uniformity and a fixed method of doing things, must not be confused with *standards*, which are criteria by means of which the results of a program can be objectively evaluated. They are yardsticks for the measurement of performance.

The Manual of Instructions

Routines and standardized practices should be described in a manual of instructions readily available for each worker. This manual should be a model of brevity, simplicity, and organization so that reference to it can be

quick and helpful. It must be kept up-to-date and periodically reviewed with the workers.

Advantages and Disadvantages

To the advantages already mentioned, can be added the sense of security provided the individual by formalized procedures. He knows where he is. This is especially true for those with limited abilities. However, the disadvantages cannot be overlooked. Adherence to rules calls for little thinking, makes small demands on the intelligence, and is apt to have a deadening effect on the individual. The procedures become the important concern. The sense of responsibility may become lessened, and rigidity set in.

In such a sea of conformity, islands for creativity need to be found. There can be a flexibility in response to the worker's desires and circumstances. There can be group participation in the formulating, evaluating, and revising of procedures. Areas of work where there can be the play of initiative and judgment need to be provided. The non-routine tasks should permit the individual to exercise his sense of responsibility. Where the work is in the field of human relations, standardization has little place, for this involves his whole personality, and there is no other recourse than to let the worker be himself.

In conclusion, management is the integration of all the basic elements that interweave in various ways in the acts of administration. It represents a set of arrangements that make accomplishment of goals possible. As described above, each element has its specific function, process, principles, and tools. Besides, they are the supporting arrangements essential for democracy in management.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION AS WE HAVE JUST SEEN, rests upon the foundation of scientific principles of management. These principles, however, are just one cornerstone of the administrative structure. The principles of democracy make up another cornerstone. This newer insight into the nature of administration represents one of the great milestones in the development of the art of management. In the past, "the tendency has been to consider efficiency as an asset to democracy, but not to realize that democracy may be a means to efficiency."¹ Today, we are increasingly realizing that the standards of democracy are in line with standards of efficiency. Accordingly, we must go beyond our analysis of the basic elements of administration and examine as well the basic elements of democracy to discover wherein lies its great strength and potential for administration.

FIVE BASIC CONCEPTS

We shall first discuss the five basic concepts of the democratic idea out of which arise the principles of the democratic method in administration. These concepts have to do with the primacy of the individual, his participation in matters affecting his welfare, his assumption of responsibility for the common good, free inquiry, and integration.

¹ Alfred Bingham, *The Techniques of Democracy* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942) p. 138.

The Importance of the Individual

The primacy of the individual means that every human being *per se* has worth, dignity, and importance. He is an end in himself and not a means. This respect for the individual is democracy's fundamental criterion of a good society which, because of such respect, affirms the ideal of freedom and equality of opportunity for all, without regard to race, color, or creed. It acknowledges individual worth in terms of an individual's difference from others, that is, his uniqueness. It is this democratic value that gives significance to human life.

The Democratic Concept of Participation

A consequence of the emphasis on individual worth is the concept of participation. The individual is considered important enough to have the right to share in the responsibilities of government, in selecting leaders, and in the enactment of laws under which he will live. Democracy means government by consent and participation. It is a great partnership among free men to enable them to shape their own destiny.

Responsibility for the Common Welfare

Democracy, besides conferring rights to individuals, asks that they assume responsibilities as well. In fact, for its preservation, it must develop among citizens a sense of individual responsibility for the common good. It calls for a discipline wherein men will use their freedom not merely to promote their own individual interests, but to safeguard the rights and interests of all. Democracy makes clear that only as we preserve the rights of others can we preserve our own; that we are members of one another, joined in a great brotherhood. Further, democracy demands that its citizens give their time, improve their understanding, and develop their capacities for the proper discharge of their responsibilities.

The Belief in Free Inquiry

Democracy rests on freedom of inquiry—on the free exercise of intelligence, knowledge, and discussion. It has faith in man's ability to arrive at sound decisions through the untrammelled exploration of ideas, through the exchange of ideas in group discussion, and through voluntary association. The belief in free inquiry grows out of the democratic conviction that man is a rational being, endowed with creative intelligence and the capacity for growth. It is for practical reasons therefore that democracy protects itself by safeguarding for its citizens the civil liberties of freedom of speech and assembly. For the capacity of citizens to govern is their capacity to think things through. This is why democracy stresses popular education. Jefferson knew that the enemy of democracy was ignorance; that a free government depended on the dissemination of knowledge. "Experience has shown," he wrote, "that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have in time by slow operations perverted into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be to illuminate, as far as practical, the minds of the people at large."²

Integration

Because of the use of free inquiry and discussion, differences of opinion can be resolved, instead of leading to civil strife when the avenues for the airing of differences are shut off. Encouraging diversity of views, democracy at the same time makes possible their integration toward consensus and unity and catches up for the whole the richness of each of the differences. This is the opposite of totalitarianism which insists on uniformity, since it cannot risk differences. These are a threat to its precarious foundation of force.

² Claude G. Bowers, *The Young Jefferson* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1945) p. 183.

DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS AS GUIDING PRINCIPLES

These five concepts have gone into the creation of the democratic idea. They represent the faith that a social system built upon these ideals can best guarantee the greatest good for the many. They are aspirations remaining to be more fully realized in practice and serving as goals toward which we must strive.

In a dynamic sense, these concepts serve as the guiding principles for establishing the democratic method in administration. These principles have to do with respecting the worker as a person; providing opportunity for his participation in management; utilizing the tools of free inquiry and group discussion; achieving integration out of the diversity of worker interests.

These principles, to be truly implemented, need to be supported by strong democratic convictions and feeling. For only the spirit of democracy and abiding belief in its human values can effectively motivate the administrator in the application of these principles. We need therefore to go beyond a mere statement of abstract concepts into an examination of their development to see how deeply imbedded they are in our culture, and to realize how they have been achieved out of a long struggle for justice and brotherhood.

DEMOCRACY A RELIGIOUS CONCEPT

Democracy, as we know it today, stems from many sources. Its emphasis on faith in man as man and his responsible participation can be traced back to the Christian doctrine of universal brotherhood derived from the Hebrew prophets' conception of God as one, as the father of all mankind. This fundamental Jewish-Christian doctrine, on which western civilization is built, stood for freedom of the individual and equality among men, for all men were considered the children of God and were part of the same divine spirit. The precept, "Thou shalt

love thy neighbor as thyself," proclaimed the brotherhood of man and the dignity of the individual and established the religious-ethical basis of the democratic principle. In the ancient world, where human life was held very cheaply, where the strong looked down upon the weak, such a revolutionary ethic in human relations ushered in a new morality that has shaped our modern way of life. In our own country, the Bible served as a democratic source book for the Puritan settlers, for the authors of the Declaration of Independence, for Lincoln, and for many others.

The humanism of the Bible was not the sole spiritual inspiration for democracy. It is also found in the sacred books of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism. Confucius preached: "When a man carries out the principle of conscientiousness and reciprocity, he is not far from the moral law. What you do not wish others should do unto you, do not do unto them." It is found in classical Greek philosophy. "The only stable state," Aristotle wrote, "is that where everyone possesses an equality in the eyes of the law." Pericles defined the Athenian democracy as one wherein "our government favors the many rather than the few. If we look at our laws, they offer equal justice to all in their private differences."

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA AS A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The doctrines of the social and political thinkers of an earlier day in France and England laid the philosophical basis for democracy. The writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Mill, and Locke, among others, were liberalizing forces with far-reaching influence. Northrop has noted that "Great Britain is a tolerant democracy because of the modern philosophy of Locke."³ How very modern

³F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Macmillan, 1947) p. 185.

is the following statement of Locke, though written around two hundred and fifty years ago: "Men being by nature all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his consent, which is done by agreement with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceable living one amongst another."⁴ Later, Jefferson put Locke's thought in different words when he wrote into the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This current of democratic thought, with its source in ancient times, has flowed on in the minds of men. Its more recent affirmation is found in the preamble of the United Nation's Charter, in which emphasis is placed "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small."

The ancient prophets and the later social philosophers provided the inspiration and faith in democracy as well as its theoretical base. The rest of the story is a tale of man's long and many times bloody battles for the freedoms which they sought as a natural right. Democracy was no result of inevitable forces of progress. It had to be fought for, captured, and held. In World War II, we came perilously close to losing the democratic gains of centuries of struggle. Milestones in this struggle were the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Protestant Reformation. In the eighteenth century, the emergence of the democratic principle that the people were the sovereign authority led to the overthrow of kings who had ruled by divine right, and to the establishment of the American

⁴ John Locke, "An Essay Concerning Civil Government," in *English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill* (New York: Modern Library) p. 441.

and French republics. The crushing of Hitler represents the latest of conflicts to preserve a free way of life. Man's constant rebellion against despotic control is dramatically epitomized in Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death."

The administrator who employs the democratic method is putting into practice age-old ethical ideals. He exemplifies religion in action. He joins not only the large illustrious company who have preached the democratic doctrine, but also those who have striven to express it in action. He is responding to a faith which generates the enthusiasm essential for democratic practice. But he is doing more. He is complying with principles of the social sciences. For it is a remarkable fact that the science of today is arriving at findings about the nature of man and his relation to others which validate the intuitive insights of the religious prophets and the theoretical principles of social philosophers. Democratic concepts, we are learning, are not only derived from religion, ethics, and philosophy, but from the social science laboratory as well.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES VALIDATE DEMOCRATIC BELIEFS

The Hawthorne studies, referred to in the first chapter, discovered that there was a human being under the worker's clothes. Management had long assumed that the worker was primarily an "economic" man who was chiefly motivated by material incentives such as wages, shorter hours, and the like. The social scientists at Hawthorne found that this materialistic assumption was not only erroneous in fact, but damaging to management in terms of lowered productivity, greater absenteeism, increased worker fatigue, and lessened worker interest. When socially satisfying work conditions were introduced, the result was increased production, greater interest, and reduced absenteeism and fatigue. All this because workers were made to feel that they counted as persons. Accord-

ingly, a new concept was introduced into management—the importance of the individual. It was new for management, but was the old democratic principle gaining a foothold in the industrial sphere as it had previously been established in the political sphere.

Psychological Insights for Management

The human requirement of the worker is a work experience in which his drives, hopes, and interests get expressed. These mean life itself. Self-effacement is unbearable to man; he cannot tolerate this threat to his ego. He functions best when these ego needs are served, otherwise his “heart is not in his work.” His interest in the job cannot be cajoled or forced for any length of time, but is elicited through satisfactions of his inner self.

When this personal satisfaction is denied, he seeks an outlet for expression which may take the form of unrest, rebellion, aggression, absenteeism, fatigue, “falling down on the job,” “getting away with things,” and just plain “who cares?” Thus management errs when it fails to see that the whole personality of the worker goes to the job. Management reduces his power when it cuts him off from opportunities for growth and active participation.

Sociological Insights

While sociologists had known of the reciprocal influence of the individual and the group, the Hawthorne study pointed up the practical implications of the group phenomenon. That the kind of group one worked in, whether congenial or otherwise, affected productivity had never occurred to management, until the Hawthorne experiments made the demonstration. It is not enough to deal with the worker as an individual; it is equally essential to pay attention to the work group of which he was a part. When permitted to form their own informal social groups, the productivity of the workers at Hawthorne increased, and they were much happier on the job.

The administrator, when he thinks group-wise, equips himself with a basic insight necessary for democratic administration. The group is a dynamic factor in management; it can provide the worker with a sense of satisfaction, a sense of belonging, and a channel for participation. It can be a source of power for smooth-running and more effective operations.

One of the strongest drives in the human personality is in the direction of association with one's fellows. From the group, the individual draws emotional sustenance. His ego is supported when he is accepted by others, finds a place for himself, secures group approval, and can share in common projects. Not only this, but the group influences his behavior and attitudes. So strong is his need for group approval, that to gain and retain it, he is willing to submit to its control, attitudes, and values. Such self-imposed self-control correspondingly lessens the need of superimposed control from above.

When an integral part of the group, he is inclined to take responsibility for its well-being in which he has a personal stake. Further, the group can be the means for his personal development, for it stimulates, regenerates, and accelerates effort. We have all seen the beneficial effects upon a worker when he has been shifted to a group that he finds more congenial. The board member testifies to this group influence on those occasions when he remarks after a meeting: "I like to attend the meetings of this board because I have a good time; they are swell people and I like to work with them."

The sad fact is that while man hungers for association he is denied it by the modern machine age. He has become increasingly alienated from his fellows. He has a growing sense of isolation and the feeling of being "a stranger and afraid in a world I never made." His capacity for working with others has been gradually atrophying, and he is left with a loneliness previously unknown. "The restoration of human collaboration becomes the most

urgent problem, so urgent that if we do not immediately specify it for intelligent attack, our civilization can have no considerable future.”⁵ Industry, in which individuals spend most of their lives, must, with other institutions, assume a social responsibility here.

*Confirmation of the Democratic Principle
by the Science of Education*

As in these findings of psychology and sociology, the administrator finds confirmation of the democratic principle in the science of education. It has been found that participation underlies effective learning. This is another way of saying that active experience is the great teacher. Activity involves the whole self beyond the mere intellectual level. The swimming instructor knows this truth very well. Only as he gets the novice into the water, despite the value of all the land exercises and talks, will the individual become a swimmer. Learning through participation becomes built into the individual. “I recently asked 250 college students to write down three vivid memories of their school work in the eighth grade. . . . Three-quarters of the memories were for situations in which the subject himself was actively participating.”⁶

Shared participation is a stimulus to learning and to greater effort. Here the stimulus is a social one to which the person reacts more readily, since he seeks and must have group approval and wants to prove himself. We have all known of situations in which an individual has performed more effectively in a collaborative project than when working alone. “Social environment is truly educative in its effect in the degree in which an individual

⁵ Elton Mayo, “What Every Village Knows,” *Survey Graphic*, December, 1937, p. 698.

⁶ Gordon W. Allport, “The Psychology of Participation,” an address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, September 16, 1944.

shares or participates in some conjoint activity. By doing his share in the associated activity, the individual appropriates the purpose which actuates it, becomes familiar with its methods and subject matters, and acquires needed skill and is saturated with its emotional spirit."⁷

The Lewin Experiments

That the principles of democracy coincide with those of the social sciences is further evidenced in a number of experiments. Foremost among these is the work of the late Kurt Lewin and his students. They found experimentally that when democratic principles were utilized, the group was more efficient, its members happier, their relations to each other more co-operative and generally more satisfying.

In the investigation of the comparative behavior of democratically and autocratically conducted children's clubs, they discovered that the youngsters in the autocratic social climate were considerably more hostile and aggressive; the level of group spirit and co-operation was low; egocentric behavior predominated. In the democratic club, the children were more friendly; the level of group spirit and co-operation was high; there was more we-feeling. As to efficiency, the autocratic group tried to do as little work as possible, while in the democratic set-up the work was well done, the product superior, and fewer children left their work unfinished. In striving for status, the dominated group sought this primarily from the leader in terms of being submissive. In the democratic group, the members acquired status from their peers by means of their work accomplishments. So great was the influence of group climate that, upon the transfer of the children from the democratic to the autocratic club, they

⁷ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1939) p. 26.

became aggressive and non-co-operative, with a lessening of interest in each other.⁸

In another project, Lewin and his associates undertook to train playground leaders in the democratic method. Democracy was practiced in the leadership course. After training, it was found that the trainees' morale had risen, they found their work more enjoyable, and they assisted each other more. Their children had much more fun and took more responsibility; the playground functioned more effectively.⁹

Again, there was an experiment aimed to persuade housewives to change their food habits in the interests of the war effort. The attempt at persuasion was made with one group by the lecture method, in the second group by means of group discussion and group decision. It was found that only ten per cent of the lectured group made the change in diet, compared to 53 per cent of the discussion group.¹⁰

DEMOCRACY IS A DYNAMIC FOR MANAGEMENT

Thus we see that democracy represents not only a belief in human values, but a dynamic for human relations, including those in management. Without it, efficiency stops short of its full achievement; with it, the individual is stirred to greater effort.

We have left the definition of democratic administration to the last. Democratic administration is a co-operative process that uses the human resources of all the workers and that enables them to share in the common responsibility for the enterprise.

⁸ Kurt Lewin, "Experiments in Autocratic and Democratic Atmospheres" (*The Social Frontier*, July, 1938).

⁹ Ronald Lippitt and Kurt Lewin, "Implications of Recent Research for Leadership Training," *Group Work in War Time* (New York: American Association for the Study of Group Work, 1943).

¹⁰ Alex Bavelas, "Civilian Morale: Leaders can be made." (*Frontiers of Democracy*, November 15, 1942).

CHAPTER V

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

AT THE OUTSET, we must acknowledge that administration and democracy are each difficult in themselves and that the blending of the two is doubly difficult. However, the problem lies not only within these two processes but also in some misconceptions about them. "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

DOES DEMOCRACY SLOW THINGS UP?

The first misunderstanding about democratic administration comes to the surface in the criticism that the democratic process is too time-consuming; that the involvement of persons in policy and decision making unduly slows things up. This criticism may seem justified on the surface but on closer examination, it will be found that this is not the case. It is true that a great deal more time is required in situations where there is taking place a conversion from autocratic to democratic practice. But this slowness is characteristic of all marked transitions and is inherent in all beginnings. At the start, old grooved ways must be abandoned and new ones explored and learned. Shared management is a new way calling for re-orientation of aims, revamping of the organizational structure, and training in democratic methods, which is no simple matter. It calls for the perfecting of the basic essentials of management—planning, organizing, staffing, co-ordinating, directing, and personal leadership—for it is axiomatic that only the administratively strong can hope to be truly democratic and stay so. However, as the co-operative way of working is learned through hard ex-

perience, the administrative machinery progressively moves with greater smoothness.

The criticism overlooks the fact that the use of the group process, once perfected, can be a timesaver. This becomes evident with the realization that the worker tends to become self-propelled to self-initiated effort when he is given recognition and status. The fact of his shared participation is a stimulus to action and thus can speed things up. Self-discipline is encouraged, which correspondingly saves much of the time required for an elaborate system of external controls. There is no longer the same necessity to take time out to counteract the delaying action of worker resistance to orders autocratically "forced down his throat."

More important, when time is invested in training the worker in the democratic skills of problem solving, group discussion, integration of differences, and the sharing of responsibility, there is a building-up for the future. Such training enables him to handle situations more and more on his own, thus reducing dependence on the administrator or supervisor whose time is consequently saved.

This criticism overlooks the further fact that it is the misuse of the group process which results in an unnecessary waste of time. Democracy in management becomes abused when it is under the influence of the erroneous idea that almost everything must be decided in groups. The consequences of this idea are chronic consultations and endless conferences. Not every agency concern needs to be thrown indiscriminately into the hopper of the group process. While continuous opportunity should be provided for their revision, certain things, until modified, must be taken for granted if time is to be used creatively: customary ways of procedure, accepted administrative practices, and operational routines. Unless there have been marked changes, the setting of policy for a new situation can be made on the basis of previous practice and precedent without entailing the need for fresh discussion.

Again, decision making is not the function of the group alone; individuals must assume this task within the framework of their assigned responsibility and delegated authority and must undertake the risks involved. On the one hand, as a practical matter, the pressing demands upon management require this if it is not to bog down; and on the other, democracy does not mean that the group method is always indicated. Democracy means as well the strengthening of individual responsibility. Excessive use of the group may weaken self-reliance and, in consequence, democracy is not served. For as Bode has stated, such practice tends "to produce a herd mind which remains pathetically dependent upon group initiative and group opinion."¹

By this stricture, we do not mean to minimize the psychological values of group participation and its basic importance for modern administration. However, there is indicated the need for reserving to the group method those matters which are essential, relevant, and of common interest, and to the individual, the areas of his specific responsibilities. Finding the balance between the two has never been an easy matter for democracy.

INEFFICIENT?

The second criticism of democracy is that it is inefficient. Democracy, it is said, fails to get things done; responsibility is so spread over the many that no one individual can be held accountable. This is a myth. In the first place, sound management principles which undergird democratic administration insist on accountability and the fixing of specific responsibility. Secondly, because we are not so far removed in our culture from autocratic beliefs and practices as to escape their influence entirely, we have been conditioned to believe that autocracy is associated with efficiency and democracy with inefficiency.

¹ Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Cross Roads* (New York: Newson, 1938) p. 113.

This is not borne out by facts. Hitler, too late, mistakenly counted on this belief. The Lewin experiments with autocratic and democratic groups, the Hawthorne industrial studies, the T.V.A., to mention a few cases, have demonstrated the superior efficiency of democratic methods. Stuart Chase in *Men at Work*² gives a host of other examples and observes that "if the human organization of the factory is out of balance, all the efficiency systems in the world will not improve the output of goods."

Once we understand the potentialities of democracy when it is wisely tapped, we come to see that it is a necessary condition for efficiency. Energy is lost when the worker is frustrated in the expression of self; when he is made to feel that he does not count, that he is inferior and unworthy; when he is blocked from putting himself whole-heartedly into an enterprise; when opportunities for his participation as a person are not provided for. In the group process, differences can be ironed out before they are permitted to become a source of friction and hostility and, as a result, a drag on the worker's energy. Group participation avoids waste by uncovering all points of view and thereby arriving at a more balanced and seasoned judgment. No administrator, however able, can bring into the focus of his attention all of the pertinent considerations in a problem as well as can the many people involved, each of whom makes a contribution to the whole in the light of his own experience at the grass-roots.

INDIVIDUALS NOT READY FOR DEMOCRACY?

A third criticism heard is that people are not ready for democratic participation in management. Workers, it is claimed, are not competent or interested; they are disposed to dependency and are looking for the easy way out, preferring to be told what to do. That there are such workers,

² Stuart Chase and Marian Tyler, *Men at Work* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945.)

it is true, but the indictment is too sweeping, and frequently may represent the administrator's projection upon the worker of his own unreadiness to give up the power of "bossing." Historically, this anti-democratic argument is an old one. It was advanced by those in authority, prompted by the fear of losing power and fashioned as an excuse for not relinquishing control. The nature of power is such that it feeds on more of the same and usually is not self-liquidating.

This argument, too, is based on a low valuation of the worth and potentialities of the human personality. Even after our own American revolution, such a leader as Alexander Hamilton was for a strong centralized government in order to take it out of control of the masses. "The people, your people, is a great beast," he said. In a contrary spirit, Jefferson, with his faith in people, believed that "the influence over government must be shared by all people." The critics do not want to recognize that man is educable, that he has a large capacity for growth, and possesses great powers of adaptability. Culturally conditioned, he becomes democratic through practice, when the opportunity is provided. It was Macaulay who had occasion to say: "Many politicians are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is itself worthy of the fellow in the story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned how to swim. If men are to wait for liberty until they become good and wise, they may indeed wait forever."

IS EVERYONE EQUAL?

We now move on to other misconceptions. The democratic concepts of equality and freedom have motivated administrators in their employment of the group method. However, some have failed to see that equality and freedom in administration, when acted upon as unqualified concepts, tend to impede the process of democratic ad-

ministration, because they are unworkable in their pure state. The result is that executives find themselves in conflict because of their misinterpretation of these two tenets of the democratic ideal.

That every man has the God-given right of equality is a sacred expression of the democratic faith. But this was never meant to mean that men are equal in capacity. No man did more to establish what is known as the "American Way of Life" than Jefferson. It was he who wrote into the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." Yet it was Jefferson who believed in a natural aristocracy of talent, and that the survival of free institutions depended on elevating our most able representatives into positions of power. "To say that all men are equal in their abilities is not democratic; it is sheer nonsense."³ "It would be a pretty poor world if I were, that is, you were no better than I am. The hope of democracy is in its inequality."⁴

The implication for democratic administration of the over-idealization of freedom and equality is this: Executives, zealous to implement the group method, find themselves caught in the conflict between their high ideals and their practice, between which there is usually bound to be a gap. The result is a sense of inadequacy and frustration which sometimes leads them to place the blame for the difficulty on the democratic process itself.

It is unrealistic to expect equal contributions from staff members in the group process. They are unequal in abilities, in experience, in insights. Each can contribute only according to his capacity. The group process has not failed when the full participation of all is not forthcoming. True, it is the obligation of the administrator, as leader, to train for full participation and to provide equal oppor-

³Alexander Meiklejohn, *What Does America Mean?* (New York: Norton, 1935) p. 118.

⁴Mary P. Follett, *The New State* (New York: Longmans Green, 1918) p. 136.

tunity for it. It is not undemocratic to accept the fact that shared responsibility does not necessarily mean equal responsibility. Democracy becomes a burden when its demands exceed the individual's capacity to practice it.

We sometimes see this inequality rather clearly at staff meetings. Some just listen, which is a form of participation in itself, while others are overactive and carry the major share of creative thinking. Some fear to expose their thinking to public gaze, while others are still in the process of learning the skills of collaborative thinking. Some just are not interested, while others are limited in capacity. However, democracy is at work when each thus plays a role suited to his personality, and is given equal opportunity to participate and to develop.

IS FREEDOM UNQUALIFIED?

As with the concept of equality, the idea of freedom, when erroneously conceived, is likely to be disturbing to democratic management. Overzealous administrators unjustifiably develop a conscience about introducing restrictions of freedom into the democratic process.

Freedom in a democratic society is never unqualified. Freedom is a product of order and control. Restrictions on each individual make possible freedom for all individuals. An individual is only free to drive on the highway when everybody is restricted from driving as he pleases. We enjoy freedom of speech but with limitations: we are not free to incite to riot, to yell fire in the theatre just for the fun of it. We have to give up part of ourselves for the common good if we are to enjoy that good. In countering the belief that in a democracy everyone could do as he pleases, Aristotle noted that "this is all wrong; men should not think it slavery to live according to the rule of the constitution; for it is their salvation."⁵

Democratic administration, like democratic society, is

⁵Aristotle, *Politics* (New York: Modern Library Edition, 1943) p. 237.

continuously confronted with the problem of finding a satisfactory adjustment between the interests of the individual and those of the group. Is a worker free to do as he pleases, and do we violate a democratic belief when he is restricted? A staff member does not have the liberty to ignore established agency policies and to set up his own; nor is he free to violate accepted agency practice. Certain matters are fixed: membership privileges, membership dues, hours the building is open, staff hours on duty, conditions for the use of facilities, and so on. Until these are changed—and he should have the freedom to bring about changes through the democratic process—he must abide by them. If each staff member becomes the arbiter of what is right, the consequent confusion would make it impossible for any member to be free to work entirely as he chooses. The many jobs are too intertwined and they must be co-ordinated by order, that is, by common rules and practices which in themselves represent restrictions.

To all this it should hastily be added that we must avoid the real danger of excessive and unsound restrictions which can stifle freedom of thought and action. The areas of restriction should be kept to a minimum, while the areas of freedom should be progressively extended in a way that is consistent with sound administration and the worth and dignity of each individual. Finding the balance is a problem of democratic administration.

IS DEMOCRACY PURE?

We come now to another false notion about democracy—that it is “pure.” In the framework of this belief, all autocratic acts are considered antidemocratic, and are therefore to be avoided. The implication of this issue for democratic management is a real one. When leaders act upon this mistaken idea in their understandable desire to keep true to what they conceive to be the democratic faith, they can impair the democratic process. For

to side-step autocratic acts and decisions when these are necessary is to paralyze management and thereby to weaken democracy itself.

Democracy is not an unmixed affair. It is not necessarily canceled out by autocracy. "Autocracy and democracy are nothing more than polar terms in a graded series; neither exists as pure entity. There is always some autocracy in democracy and democracy is always involved and implemented in every form of autocracy."⁶ It is the administrator's responsibility to see that things get done. To that end there are justifiable occasions for the use of his authority so long as it serves the common good, and not just his own ends; so long as he is moving in the direction of developing the democratic process. On the one hand, he needs to have a continuing faith in the democratic ideal, and to develop the skill in translating it into workable practice. On the other hand, blinking at the realities of the situation may render a disservice to democracy. "Mankind likes to think in terms of extreme opposites. It is given to formulating its beliefs in terms of either pole between which it recognizes no intermediate possibilities."⁷

PAT FORMULAS

Democratic administration is also misconceived when viewed as a set of pat formulas. It is fallacious to assume that the implementation of democracy is entirely a matter of mechanical arrangements instituted according to hard and fast rules. The formal organization of human relationships has to be adapted to the particular requirements of the group. Democracy in its essence is opposed to uniformity. The different constitutional forms of democracy in the United States and Great Britain repre-

⁶ Eduard Lindeman, *Social Education* (New York: New Republic, 1933) p. 147.

⁷ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1938) p. 1.

sent historical adaptations. That these forms are different is no adverse reflection on either. America's founding fathers would be surprised at our present concept of democracy with its popular election of senators, initiative and referendum, and social security legislation, none of which was envisaged in their time. Because democracy is a dynamic, adjusting process, it will continue to undergo changes in the future to meet new needs.

The democratic pattern must evolve out of the conditioning factors peculiar to each agency: its traditions, its responsibilities, and the competence and conceptions of its component groups. Among the agencies, the application of democratic principles will vary in intensity and range. Different forms, singly or in combination, will emerge: a truly representative board of directors, representative committees, junior boards of directors, house councils, an electoral membership, membership meetings, and other ways. These can all be effective provided that democratic values are conserved.

But they are only external, technical forms which are secondary. Over and above these must be a leadership that is competent and motivated by the true democratic spirit which will enable individuals really to get themselves expressed. Otherwise, what remains are mere surface procedures. Actual participation becomes the real test. Democracy is not being practiced just because there is a membership representative on the board, if he, for whatever reason, finds himself stifled at board meetings. Compared to this, a house council is more democratic in reality when it operates in a truly permissive atmosphere. Nor do these formal provisions exhaust the range of democratic participation. Additionally important is management open-mindedness which encourages the more informal contributions of membership, board, and staff in the day-to-day relationships. Of consequence, too, is the promotion at the grassroots of democratic expression among the clubs and other small groups where the sig-

nificant interests of the individuals are caught up, and where there is more frequent intermingling. It is to this multiple nature of democratic provisions to which attention must be given.

IS DEMOCRACY EASY?

Reliance on formulas leads to another wrong notion—that democracy in management is an easy thing to realize. The fact is that such an attainment is laborious. It requires effective administration, expertness in the techniques in human relations, experimentation, and training in the democratic disciplines. These factors and the sense of adequacy they provide are prerequisites. We must realize that a heavy load of democratic doctrine without tangible skills does not make for advance. Goals, no matter how worthy, are not translated automatically into action. Conceived apart from operational means, they are sterile. In dealing with the complexities inherent in co-operative relationships, there is no short cut.

CAN DEMOCRACY BE APPLIED TO MANAGEMENT?

Another thing that retards the development of democracy in administration is the idea that the democratic method is all right for club groups but invalid for management groups. The rationalization made for this distinction is that administration is under the pressure of getting things done, and the assumption is that democracy interferes with getting things done.

This arbitrary discrimination is unsoundly based, as our whole discussion has tried to indicate. Granted that the club groups and the administrative groups are not entirely identical, the fact remains that in the club groups, the democratic method is used because it quickens interest, steps up effectiveness, and promotes morale which are precisely the advantages management needs if it is to get

things done. These are advantages that only the democratic method can bestow.

Though operating in different settings, the members of both groups are the same in their need for being accepted as persons. The individual does not shed his personality, as he would remove his hat, when he enters his place of work. The personality has to be taken into account, no matter what the setting. Besides, the way an individual is managed can not be artificially separated from the way he works, any more than his personality can be divorced from his performance. To accept any such dichotomy is to confuse the issue and fly in the face of reality; it endangers the effectiveness of an administrator. "The distinction is regrettable . . . which may destroy much of the agency's usefulness, and make frequent conflict between program workers and administrators almost inevitable."⁸

DOES STRONG LEADERSHIP NULLIFY DEMOCRACY?

Another misconception to be considered is one that has grown out of the confusion about equality, freedom, and "pure" democracy. It has to do with the role of the leader in a democracy. According to some, strong leadership is considered antidemocratic; democracy is supposed to whittle down the need of the strong leader, and centralized control is inimical to democratic management.

This view is untenable. Historically, we have associated strong leadership with autocracy and consequently have equated democratic leadership with passivity and laissez-faire. But times have changed and with them the concept of what is good democratic practice. Democracy, as was noted, is not a fixed absolute. It is a changing social process, always in a state of influx. As America moved

⁸ L. K. Hall, "Group Work and Administration," (*The Group*, October 1939) p. 1.

away from a simple rural to a complex industrial society, the consequence was a mounting of social, political, and economic problems, in which government had perforce assumed increasing responsibilities and functions. The new day called for strong leadership to cope with the challenging issues that emerged. Democracy had to be buttressed with strong management, while weak leadership would have endangered it. "Actually, the trend toward a strong mayor in city government, a strong governor in state government, a strong executive in Washington has strengthened democracy rather than weakened it."⁹

Aside from this is the fact that leadership is integral to the dynamics of group life. A leaderless society is unthinkable. Whenever men form themselves into a group, leadership is the essential means for achieving orderly relationships. It is a technical impossibility for every individual to be the head of the group; there must be some focus of responsibility and authority. Governments are set up for this purpose, for without government there can only be anarchy. Unity must be achieved out of diversity. Democracy encourages diversity, thus making effective leadership all the more necessary for the harmonization of these multiple interests.

Democracy acknowledges the necessity for the division of labor in which the positions of leadership go to those with greater competence and experience. There is the democratic requirement, however, that none be barred from assumption of such leadership because of race, color, or creed and that merit be the determining factor. It is because of such merit that we are willing to acknowledge leadership, since leadership has its special and peculiar contribution to make on our behalf. The contributions of other workers are equal in terms of their essentialness, but distinctive and different as to function. When the

⁹ Alfred Bingham, *The Techniques of Democracy* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942) p. 146.

boiler breaks down in the course of an evening's activity, the most important worker at such a time in terms of function is the engineer, not the administrator. Democracy, as was indicated previously, does not ask for the same contribution from all, but rather that we each make the whole possible by adding to it our special competence.

Democratic administration does not abandon strong leadership. The responsibility for stable, continuous, and purposeful direction must be vested in some one person, who can be held accountable. There are laws of management as there are natural laws, and "unity of command" is one of them which, when violated, can only lead to ineffectiveness and disruption. Democratic administration does not mean the elimination of the responsible executive, any more than our democratic form of government abolishes a responsible President. Nor does it "imply an employee election of foreman or manager. [The execution of policy] implies effective oversight, requires responsible, clear unified action—this leaves operating authority and responsibility where they always must be—with the executive heads."¹⁰

DEMOCRATIC VERSUS AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

At this point we are impelled to inquire what distinguishes strong democratic leadership from strong autocratic leadership. Democratic leadership has a respect for the individual personality and moves in the direction of progressively implementing the democratic process. To the autocratic leader, the worker is just a machine—geared to turn out the finished product. The democratic administrator works *with* people rather than "bosses *over* them." His leadership releases energy. He uses power but is careful to see that it is not harmful. Like Dewey's teacher, he "reduces to a minimum the occasions in which he or she

¹⁰ Ordway Tead, *New Adventures in Democracy* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1939).

has to exercise authority in a personal way. When it is necessary to speak and act firmly, it is done in behalf of the interest of the group and not as an exhibition of personal power. This makes a difference between action which is arbitrary and that which is just and fair."¹¹

The democratic executive does not see any inconsistency between his use of authority and democracy. In fact, he believes the avoidance of strong leadership is a disservice to democracy. "Those who waver at the sight of needed power are false friends of democracy. Strong executive leadership is essential to democratic government. Our choice is not between power and no power, but between responsible but capable popular government and irresponsible autocracy."¹²

OUR IMPEDING ATTITUDES

There is one final observation. It is because of misconceptions that we block our own purposes. This is not the only thing; our feelings get in the way too. Within our own attitudes, there may be emotional conflicts which retard our advancement of the democratic process.

To begin with, there is so much that is still elusive about administration and the dynamic elements in human beings, that democratically inclined executives can make themselves unhappy when they try to measure results against a perfectionist standard. Failure, or the fear of failure, to observe the spirit of democracy according to an absolute standard may become emotionally disturbing. A sense of guilt may set in. As a result, democracy in administration may be overdone; there is a leaning over backwards to avoid the appearance of being undemocratic. Everything may become "democratized," when many of

¹¹ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1933) p. 59

¹² *Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management* p. 58.

the minor decisions should be the responsibility of a single individual.

Democracy in administration can not be perfectly realized, since it must get itself expressed through persons and processes that in themselves are as yet imperfect. Persons and processes must be progressively developed through laborious effort and experimentation before fuller democratic attainment is possible. To be democratic is not to overlook this reality. At the same time, our efforts towards achieving the greatest amount of group participation must rely heavily on the stimulus of the democratic concept for the sense of direction it provides and for the motivating force of the ideal of human relationships which it represents.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL TECHNIQUES FOR IMPLEMENTING DEMOCRACY IN ADMINISTRATION

THE CORE OF THE PROBLEM of democratizing administration is one of using means suitably calculated to get democracy as an ideal expressed into democracy in action. Whatever these means, they must in themselves incorporate the democratic idea, if democratic ends are to be achieved; that is, out of their use must materialize the democratic principles of individual worth, participation, group responsibility, free inquiry, and integration.

Means which measure up to these criteria are: the techniques of guiding the group process, teaching, group discussion, problem solving, and educational supervision. In themselves, they all represent democracy in action. They have these further in common: the aim of promoting personality satisfactions for the worker; emphasis on the human material in management; flexibility in keeping with the flexibility inherent in democracy itself.

THE TECHNIQUE OF GROUP LEADERSHIP

With respect to guiding the group process which we can also designate as group leadership, it needs to be stated again that modern administration recognizes that a business enterprise is a social organization as well. Workers spontaneously organize into informal groups around some common interest, or more formally because of their official relationships. Accordingly, administration at the point of hiring pays attention to those personal qualities of the workers, such as the ability to get along

with others, which will insure harmonious interpersonal relations, that is, will not be a threat to the group life of the enterprise. The administrator finds himself confronted with group organization whether he wishes it or not.

Democratic management accepts and encourages groupings, recognizes their value in human and administrative terms, and consciously guides the group process as an integral part of its total responsibility. The administrator, in short, adds to his other functions that of the group leader.

One aim of group leadership in administration is to utilize the psychological power inherent in the nature of the group for the benefit of the worker and the agency. When a number of individuals develop into that collective psychological entity known as the group, they do so in satisfaction of a basic ego need on behalf of which they adapt themselves to the standards of that group. Where a good group quality has been created, each member is permeated by it. The outcome is a state of high morale, that is, the identification of the worker with the agency, his acceptance of its purposes, readiness to advance its welfare, and persistence in the face of difficulties. We have a group-created solidarity that can not be ordered but must be generated out of satisfying group experience.

Group Leadership Provides a Good Group Experience

There are four conditions for successful group living to be met through applying the democratic idea in the guidance of the group process. The first is the safeguarding of the individual's sense of status. The individual is drawn out of the anonymity of the mass when he is given a place among his fellows through opportunities for contribution to the whole, through recognition of his work, and through having been made to feel important. For it is this contribution on his part that makes him psychological'y a member of the group. Only the group can

confer status upon him, since status is essentially a social matter. Under this stimulus of acceptance by his fellows, the worker's energy is released to create more energy leading to a sense of counting and personal growth.

The second condition is the creation of areas of co-operating experience. Man has a deep need and urge to identify himself with something greater than himself. When made a significant part of the whole, its purposes become more personally his, and his co-operation towards its welfare becomes voluntary. The workers develop together a sort of spiritual collective stake in the agency, which no amount of exhortation can hope to achieve. It can be achieved by providing regular channels for the practice of co-operative relations built into the administrative structure, and by clearing the atmosphere for freedom of expression. Participation is impeded when there is fear of speaking up, when there is mere pretense of democracy, when there is no genuine respect for persons. When such an undemocratic social climate obtains, the staff meetings, as one example, become a matter of going through motions, and do not have the free environment basic to democratic practice.

The third condition is that of taking into account the forces operative in the interplay of personalities in the group. The pattern of behavior within the group can be a varied mosaic. The behavior of the individual in the group may be prompted by the need to secure status, to achieve power, to gain recognition, to work out hostilities, to project anxieties and fears onto the group. The worker may be attracted to the personalities of some, repelled by others, or remain isolated. He may make a better showing in the group than he does when working alone, or vice versa. He may be nice to his executive but unpleasant to his colleagues. Individuals differ in the rate of the progress they make in becoming assimilated into the group. There may be indigenous leaders whose influence in molding group opinion must be taken into account. The group

process may be conditioned by the intangible effects, good or bad, of agency policies and practices. The quality of the interrelationships—whether cold and hostile or warm and co-operative—depends on whether the leader is autocratic or democratic.

The fourth condition is the recognition and understanding of the various groupings in the agency in terms of their backgrounds, motivations, job expectancies, and other individual characteristics. To be aware of the distinctiveness of each of the groups and its members, to be acquainted with their interests and sources of satisfaction in the agency, is to be alerted to the importance of choosing methods of approach suitable to the differences in groups.

Group Leadership is Sensitive to Group Characteristics

In a group-work agency we can quickly identify such groups as the board of directors, staff, membership, and the community as a whole, together with each of their sub-groups. We can only attempt here a highly generalized and impressionistic description of these groups, to be elaborated in subsequent chapters. Needless to say, there are exceptions to the broad characterizations which follow.

The board of directors is the legally organized body serving primarily as trustee of the agency on behalf of the community. Its members may or may not reflect the community, depending on the degree of their representativeness of the various segments of the community. As a general rule, they are psychologically removed from the users of the agency since they usually are members of the upper and economic group, have had more favorable life experiences, and are more advanced in age.

Their general aim is to see that a good job is done on behalf of the young people. While they derive personal satisfaction in identifying themselves with a socially useful organization, they may secure other satisfactions from

serving on the board, such as a sense of power and importance, social prestige, the sublimation of unsatisfied urges like the need to "do good," and the advantages accruing to their business. While taking a pride of ownership in the whole enterprise, their active concern may be limited to one phase of it: the banker's interest may be in finance and a balanced budget; the business man's in the use of business methods and in public relations; the housewife's in attractive furnishings and atmosphere; the former college athlete's in sports; the intellectual's in adult education, and so on. Group leadership attempts to individualize its approach to such a varied personnel on the board.

The staff is just as varied and the differences among its sub-groups need to be identified. The administrative personnel, while not of the same economic status as the board, may tend to identify themselves with it. As compared with the rest of the professional staff, the administrator is usually older and has had considerably more work experience, though in some instances he has had less formal professional education. Because of his position, he is more likely, though not always, to have a deep sense of ownership in the agency, to take great pride in the quality of performance, to be driven by an urgency to do a good job, to insist on administrative order, system, and efficiency, and to keep a weather-eye on public relations.

The other members of the professional staff are likely to belong to the middle or lower economic brackets. They are usually underpaid. They are more closely related in age to that part of the agency's clientele with which they establish a close relationship. They derive much "psychic income" from their work in human relationships. In the totality of the agency, they operate in a limited sector which they identify as the agency, unless they are provided opportunities for assuming responsibility for the whole. This applies to part-time program personnel, who, unless

influenced otherwise, limit their scope of interest to their particular specialty.

Another staff sub-group, the volunteers, is motivated to service for a variety of reasons. They may be seeking status, a sense of accomplishment, personal development, or the recognition which their service can achieve for them.

Clerical and maintenance staff members do not have the satisfying experience that comes from participating in the exciting drama inherent in the agency's varied program, and in its human relations. They usually deal with the monotony of inanimate paper work or facilities. The satisfactions of creativity are considerably less than those of the professional staff. Accordingly, the need for highlighting their importance and for providing opportunities for democratic participation is at once apparent.

The members, composed of numerous sub-groupings, are likely to be heterogeneous as to age, background, socio-economic status, needs, and interests. But they all have in common their seeking for fun, new experience, friends, recognition, and self-expression. Unless given opportunities for sharing responsibility in agency operations, their relationship to the agency is apt to be unilateral in terms of getting out of it what they can without contributing to its welfare.

Finally there is the general community, which is a conglomerate group, an indefinite entity. Because of this vagueness, the agency may overlook the fact that the role of the community is a definite and important one, for it is the community which in the last analysis continues the life of the agency through approval of it, and through providing the finances. The community is not especially concerned, nor does it have too much of an understanding, about the details of the agency program or about its professional techniques and practices. This is not entirely the fault of the community, for agency impact upon it

is vicarious, fluctuating, and unsystematic. Primarily its concern is two fold: that the agency "do good," and that its funds be spent wisely and economically.

Since all these groups go into the making of what is known as the agency, the exercise of the techniques of group leadership are called for with respect to each of them. An awareness of their individualized character and their respective roles in the agency is the first step in this direction.

THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING

The second set of educational techniques for putting democracy into action, that of teaching, follows the same person-centered and participation-oriented aims of group leadership. The administrator, as he practices democracy, soon discovers that he must assume the role of the teacher; that staff and other agency groups must be helped to acquire knowledge and skills needed to meet their share of the responsibility called for in democratic administration. Democracy, being no easy discipline, rests for its support on education.

The goal of the administrator, as a teacher, is focused on the staff member as a student, rather than exclusively on providing information and answers. To the worker's question, "What should I do?" he responds with, "What do you think?" He helps the worker to draw upon his own experience, to organize and interpret it and to extract from it pertinent data helpful in resolving the problem situation. This means that the emphasis is placed on training in method—method in fact gathering, and method in problem solving. Great use is made of the problem situation at hand as the springboard for the learning process. The individual is in a state of readiness to learn because he experiences a felt difficulty and an inner tension which he is impelled to relieve. Besides, the situation

is a challenge that stimulates his thinking and arouses his desire to be equal to it. When he has worked through the problem on his own, he derives a sense of satisfaction with this self-accomplishment, as well as a readiness and a confidence to tackle future problems for which he has developed a growing capacity through the exercise of his own powers. The administrator's function is to stimulate this whole process of drawing out the learner. In the process, he is aware of the emotional factors in learning which is retarded when there is inner conflict in the learner, and accelerated when there is a good relationship between learner and teacher.

The administrator, as teacher, uses the telling, or lecture method as well. In imparting knowledge directly, he must possess an adequate verbal equipment that enables him to deal effectively with his material. Since ideas are not good in themselves but become so through their acceptance by others, skill in interpreting ideas is an administrative essential. The ongoing life of the agency depends, among other things, on communicating through words a description of its philosophy, goals, and practices to community, board, staff, and membership.

Because of the passivity enforced upon the learner, lecturing or telling does not rank high as an effective teaching medium. As a supplementary method, however, it does have certain values. It represents a convenient and economical means of imparting information. It can cover a situation comprehensively and can provide an overview sometimes not possible by less direct teaching methods. Some persons feel uneasy and unsatisfied with the discussion method and have need for the certainty and finality characteristic of lectures. That answers are all provided by the expert makes for assurance. Reynolds accounts for the fact that some of her students preferred the lecture because, as they said, "We want to take something with us in which we can feel secure." And they said

that their education was "predominantly of forced feedings but it has its origination in an age-old human desire to be fed."¹

The effectiveness of the lecture is heightened when it is oriented to the learner rather than to the material, that is, when it is informal. Contrasting the informal with the formal lecturer, we find the following differences:

INFORMAL

1. He is a group leader primarily interested in people.
2. He gives guidance.
3. He encourages interruptions, questions, criticism.
4. He is informal in presentation, which is enlarged conversation between him and the students as well as among the students.
5. He presents facts, popularly described, in a lay frame-of-reference.
6. He explores the facts in a sequence that is in terms of the learner's experience and in relation to applicability to the learner's problem.

FORMAL

1. He is a class-room teacher primarily interested in subject matter.
2. He gives instruction.
3. He delivers a monologue.
4. He is formal in presentation which tends to discourage discussion.
5. He presents facts, technically described, in a scientific frame-of-reference.
6. He explores facts in logical sequence in their universal relationships.

The informal lecturer frees the atmosphere with a light touch, an easiness of manner, and a sense of humor. He does not try to overwhelm and impress his listeners with his knowledge, but rather imparts knowledge in the spirit of a learner himself so that the process becomes a sharing one. He seeks to stimulate thinking and discussion. Con-

¹ Bertha C. Reynolds, *Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work* (New York: Farrar, 1942) p. 116.

cerned with listeners as persons, he is sensitive to and guided by their reactions as evidenced by their facial expressions, tone of voice, gestures, posture, and other reactions to his talk. He probes into what is back of questions and directs his answers accordingly. Knowing that learning is more than an intellectual process, he is sensitive to their emotional response as well. To the extent possible, he tries to help those who seem insecure, indifferent, or ill at ease. The lecture, he feels, can be democratically delivered so that it shows a respect for persons and provides for participation.

THE TECHNIQUE OF GROUP DISCUSSION

The techniques of group discussion are a third set of educational tools that help the administrator, in his role as a social technician, to carry into effect the democratic idea in management. Like the New England town meeting, group discussion is one of the most direct and purest forms of democracy in action. It is a democratic instrument for enabling persons to relate themselves to one another in a common project through the process of co-operative thinking. It is organized group conversation focused on working out together the clarification of issues, the solving of problems, and the reaching of common ground. It is one of the most effective media at hand for providing a satisfying group experience, for assisting individuals to make their contribution to the common pool, and for utilizing the potentials of each person.

It is the means for education through learning from one another, for the airing of differences of opinion, and for the release of pent-up feelings that clears the air for more objective deliberation. Implicit in these aims of group discussion are not only the practical decisions to be made, but also a regard for persons, the effort toward integration, and the exercise of free inquiry. Disregard for these democratic aspects of group discussion in behalf

of quick end-results may create a feeling of frustration expressed in unrest, listlessness, and hostility.

The Values of Group Discussion

The values of group discussion redound to the agency and to the individuals. The agency's power is increased when the best thinking and experience of all are elicited and utilized. Responsibility is distributed. The outcomes are a heightened sense of belonging and of unity.

For the individual, there is the satisfaction of exchanging opinions, of learning what the other fellow thinks, and of matching his thoughts with others. In the process, he becomes united with his fellows. Emotionally, there is the satisfaction that comes from having a place in the organization and from the gaining of recognition through contributions made. Mentally, his intellectual horizon widens under the impact of cross thinking. His ideas, that may at first seem vague, become clearer with expression. He is helped to evaluate his thoughts when these are exposed to the reaction of others. Exchange stimulates more thinking so that it takes on a new shape. He begins to glimpse the truth as something beyond his original expression of it. He gets the chance to test its validity. "One's genius strikes fire from the words of another. . . . Something great or even new may be produced by putting two or more heads together."²

There is the further value of group discussion in the ironing out of differences. The give-and-take of ideas brings the issues out in the open where they can be dealt with. It is the hidden, unspoken differences of opinion which impede the free flow of ideas. Differences may be imbedded in strong feelings which block expression, and when group discussion can provide for the release of such feelings the way is cleared to a greater receptivity to the thinking of others.

² Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1924) p. 289.

Group Discussion Is a Form of Scientific Inquiry

By the use of free inquiry, group discussion achieves the value of pushing forward to new frontiers. Implicit in the exercise of free inquiry is the belief that the status quo can be improved upon. Where tradition and precedent control, there can be little recourse to discussion, since everything is fixed and settled. The mere employment of discussion is an indication that the participants are free to change established ways of doing things and to find better ones.

The underlying pattern of group discussion is that of scientific inquiry, for both are employed for the same end of problem solving. In the process of scientific inquiry, there are a felt difficulty, the locating and defining of the difficulty, the exploration of the problem through fact finding and reasoning, the selection of the most promising solution, which is tested in action, observed to see whether it works out satisfactorily and if not, modified better to meet the situation. Group discussion stops short of action, but attempts to predict the chances for the success of the solution. It may, however, call for a report on developments for "the next meeting" by way of actual testing.

Ideally, group discussion tries to arrive at a conclusion agreeable to all through the integration of differences. This may mean the working out of an entirely new formula over and above those advanced by contending parties. Where the participants are not sufficiently ingenious to reach such integration, resort may be made to the more arbitrary rule of the majority.

The Function of the Leader in Group Discussion

Because group discussion is an orderly process of cooperative thinking, if it is not to be futile or cumbersome it must be set into motion and guided by a social technician. The discussion leader, whether the administrator

at a staff meeting, the president at a board meeting, or the chairman at a committee meeting—for in these settings, all are discussion leaders—must see his function as that of a group leader, must recognize that the individuals are going through a group experience, and must observe the democratic principles of individual worth and participation. Autocratic persons are painfully not at home as leaders of discussion groups and nothing exposes their antidemocratic habits as does this role.

The aim of the discussion leader is twofold: to give all group members the chance to contribute; to safeguard the forward movement of collective thinking toward a conclusion. In the course of discussion, he deals with two kinds of material: the human and the ideational. He handles the human material with due regard for its properties. By word and attitude, he clears the atmosphere for open discussion so that individuals feel that they are free to speak and that their contribution is welcome. He makes it clear that they are not being used to serve as a “rubber stamp”, but that the whole matter is open. He pays attention to their personalities. He will encourage the timid, curb the aggressive, calm the heated and the impatient, assist the superficial.

He will distinguish between those who can examine issues objectively and judiciously and those whose thinking is colored by their personality needs, prejudices, and vested interests, or the influences of their past experience, family life, social groups, and vocation. He will be aware that some “may jump at the first course of action that comes to mind or they may turn to some authoritarian monitor, or they may ask for the verdict of custom and convention. Emotionally they may be unconsciously swayed by fear which leaves them little freedom to think objectively.”³

³ Alfred D. Sheffield, *Training for Group Experience* (New York: The Inquiry, 1929) p. 98.

As to the ideational material, the leader's function is to set in motion the process of problem solving toward the formulation of an answer. In the framework of some kind of coherence and order in the interweaving of ideas, he tries to direct the individual currents of thought into the main collective stream which he keeps continuously flowing on to its intermediate and final stages. Without such control, there is likely to be an aimless drifting into a pool of confusion and futility. His leadership is in terms of advance and withdrawal. If the discussion is getting nowhere, he advances to restore order and continuity; where the flow is ongoing and coherent, he can sit back and "let the show go on".

We can distinguish three zones of such leadership advance, although there is no clear-cut line of demarcation among them. In the first, the leader sees to it that individuals are encouraged to expression; a friendly group atmosphere is created; terms and concepts are defined; relevant facts are introduced. In the second zone, he is on the alert to see that the presented material is coherently organized, the basic issues located and clarified, points of agreement and disagreement summarized. In the third zone, he directs the flow of discussion toward a collective formulation of conclusions.

Flexibility in Group Discussion

Actually, group discussions are not very orderly and systematic. The discussants may need to go around in circles. Since only the most expert can be expected to be economically precise in thinking things through, the leader must be rather elastic. Within limits, in order to get persons to open up, he allows the discussion to ramble. He must be satisfied with as much precision as the subject matter and the participants' level of competence allow, trying at the same time for whatever improvement is possible.

A flexible procedure, as in the matter of free asso-

ciation, may serve the useful purpose of revealing significant attitudes, points of view, and problems other than those relevant to the matter at hand. Besides, flexibility allows for adjustments to the requirements of a particular situation or group whose participation thereby is facilitated. Again, it recognizes that discussion is a way of behaving that is a reflection of the personality; and that participation in many instances can only be made possible by the observance of this principle.

This was the case with a committee of well-to-do housewives who ignored the several attempts of the chairman to get them to adhere to the agenda. They converted the meeting into a social talk-fest. In between the bits of gossip and chatter, in some strange fashion, they dealt with the several items of committee business. Nothing could have been more unsystematic. Yet the meeting closed with the agenda completed and with decisions made, despite the fact that the whole process was incoherent. They could only function within the framework of social intercourse which to them was a major source of satisfaction and which leadership had to take into account. The chairman had abandoned her planned procedure for one adapted to the situation, which in itself represented one of the several techniques of group discussion.

Techniques, however, there must be to fortify the process and to guarantee the values of the group experience. In the use of this process, the leader multiplies the effectiveness of each individual through the activity of all. "In individual thought, the thinker waits until some promising idea comes into mind and then dwells on it till further ideas spring from it. A group of people, however, engaged in dialectic can, like a pack of hounds, follow up the most promising idea which occurs to any of them."⁴

⁴Graham Wallas, *The Great Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1914) p. 245.

THE TECHNIQUE OF PROBLEM SOLVING

The techniques of problem solving are our fourth set of democratic tools. The solution of problems by the methods of scientific inquiry, rather than by reference to tradition, enables democracy to accommodate itself to the growth and change characteristic of a free society. Freedom, while a right conferred by democracy on the individual, more correctly must be earned by the use of intelligence, that is, the ability to solve problems. Scientific inquiry is a prerequisite for democracy in management as well.

High competence in problem solving distinguishes the able executive. He approaches situations with a scientific attitude, that is, he is moved by a strong sense of curiosity, he is equipped with keen powers of observation, he explores, experiments, and evaluates. Taking in the situation as a whole, he reduces the volume of detail to the essential issues involved. He has the special knack of identifying the basic problem and quickly marshals the pertinent facts that bear upon its solution.

The Steps in Problem Solving

This process of problem solving, according to Dewey, is set into motion by the experiencing of a felt difficulty.⁵ We are disturbed by an uneasy feeling that all is not well, and are moved to relieve this feeling. Our first step is the locating and defining of the difficulty, what it is, and how and why it arose. In so doing, we gather all the relevant information that can provide a clear picture of the whole situation in which the difficulty resides. Since facts do not segregate themselves, they must be dug out in terms of their bearing on the situation. These facts need to be carefully sifted, for "what we ordinarily take for facts are so often full of illusion. Our expectation and present

⁵ John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1910).

possession makes us see things which do not, in fact, happen.”⁶ We then try to get at the core of the whole matter in terms of what is really wrong, that is, what the underlying problem is. Until we identify the problem, we cannot get out of our difficulty, for a problem once defined is half solved. This diagnosis is essential, since the difficulty disturbing us may not be the problem; it may only point to it.

Several answers may suggest themselves and the task is to select with discrimination the one which we believe to be basic. On the basis of the findings so far, we mentally take a figurative leap in the dark and try to formulate a hypothesis or guess with respect to the solution. Here we move from the known to the unknown. In our speculations we may make several guesses, on which we reflect. We think through what may be the consequences of the different solutions upon all aspects of the original situation until we finally select the one which seems to give the greatest promise. If the solution is a generalized one, we need to work out more specific ways and means for carrying it out, and here we draw upon our experience and that of others.

The next step is to test our theoretical solution. We do not stop here, as sometimes happens, but watch carefully to see if it is working out as we thought it would. If not, we experiment, that is, we make modifications or substitute alternate ways of meeting the problem. Finally, out of our successful experience, we distill whatever principles we can that can serve as a guide for action in the future. We put our findings to work not only in this specific situation, but in all similar ones and thus utilize learnings from experience.

In democratic administration, where the relationships of the individual are more complex than in a regimented

⁶ Morris R. Cohen, *Reason and Nature*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1931) p. 7.

environment, more problems of adjustment arise for the solution of which the method of scientific inquiry is essential. Impressionistic decisions, fixed points of view, and traditional practices must give way to factual analysis, interpretation, experimentation, and the discovery of fresh means appropriate to the demands of the situation.

THE TECHNIQUE OF EDUCATIONAL SUPERVISION

This brings us to the fifth educational technique, that of educational supervision. In the practice of this technique, the democratic administrator goes beyond his responsibility for the general oversight of the agency and makes his relations a positive source of growth and satisfaction for his staff members. By virtue of his position of leadership, he is in a strategic place to do this.

It is usually natural for a staff member to turn to those with broader backgrounds and deeper insights and to those with whom he can profitably share his experience so that he can learn, and get help and guidance. For the executive to relate himself to the worker as a person so as to understand and develop him is to accept a supervisory responsibility. This is an essential aspect of the administrator's function. For the objective of such supervision is education of the worker that will lead to his greater competence and capacity for responsibility. In this teaching-learning relationship, the administrator, as he releases the power of each individual, contributes that much added power to the agency. In contrast, to leave the individual to learn by the "sink or swim" method is wasteful in organizational and human terms.

Supervision may take place in a variety of settings: in casual contacts, in on-the-spot situations, in staff meetings, in program planning, in discussion of professional literature, and in other natural situations. Such an informal approach is apt to be less formidable to the worker than

the more formal supervisory conference. Especially for the more experienced worker, the undergoing of an appraisal of performance by the supervisor is threatening to the ego. To face up to one's inadequacies and to accept the evaluation process is not easy. Many workers do not choose to enter into a supervisory conference when this is left as a voluntary matter.

Some Principles of Educational Supervision

Unless we are guided by the individual's readiness for appraisal, we can add more tensions to the ones already existing, especially in one who is too well aware of his own shortcomings. The supervisory techniques will be dictated by the uniqueness of each individual. There are those who can take criticism in their stride, even welcome it. There are those who are made more insecure by it. Some respond to suggestion while others require more definite prodding. With some the supervisor can move directly to the point. This would be too threatening to others. In some cases, fear and anxiety must be relieved first before objective discussion can take place. Challenge may stimulate some while others may be overwhelmed by it. There is no one formula to guide human relations except that most individuals thrive on encouragement and praise.

The worker must be free to be himself, for his ways of acting and thinking are inseparable from the kind of personality he is. To superimpose ways foreign to that personality is to block it, like sand poured into a machine. All one can do is to stimulate the release of innate powers, for in the last analysis, the only power the individual can exercise is his own. Workers reveal this truth when they protest with "you must let me work it out my own way", that is, in their own tempo and style. So long as the agency function is fulfilled, the supervisor has no other choice but to make the adjustment required. This is not always easy, especially when the supervisor's work habits follow

a different pattern from that of the worker. However, in the long run, such acceptance of the worker leads to more enduring worker effectiveness.

The supervisor must have faith. The average person wants to do a good job, not only as a matter of self-pride, but also for the sense of achievement and acceptance. He is interested in pitting his abilities against the demands of his work, in increasing his capacity, and in feeling the thrills of growing. When this is not the case, there is usually a good cause that counseling or improvement of the working situation may remove.

The Supervisory Relationship

There is no substitute for the "climate" of the personal relationship between supervisor and worker. To accept a worker, to give him a sense of freedom, and to recognize his contribution are some of the conditions for *rapport* in the supervisory relationship. Because of respect for the individual, there is encouraged a democratic two-way participation with a free "give and take" that heightens the learning process for which the supervisory conference aims. Besides, there is a bond of mutual interest between supervisor and supervisee. They share an interest in the agency, in professional standards of performance, and worker goals. Both recognize that there is an equality in the fact that each has a necessary function to perform that makes the whole possible.

However, both must realize also that their roles are different and that they must accept these differences in terms of function and understand all the implications. The supervisor has authority and power, and if he wishes, can make use of them. He cannot escape his role on the grounds that he dislikes the assumption of authority.

To the worker, he is a symbol of authority, looming up as a threat and evoking fear. This may create a social distance between the two and a sense of inadequacy on the part of worker. The worker may react to authority

with rebellion or submissiveness according to his earlier conditioning.

The supervisor needs to be aware not only of what the worker brings but of what he himself brings to the relationship. His own feelings of fear, anxiety, or insecurity tend to unsettle the staff member. The supervisor may be working out his own needs by exploiting the relationship, by "taking it out" on the worker, by creating worker dependency or by "playing God". He must have sharply defined the role he plays—that of an educator. He will have the temptation to become the therapist, but, as Rogers has stated: "Therapy and authority cannot be co-existent in the same relationship—there cannot be an atmosphere of complete permissiveness when the relationship is authoritative."⁷

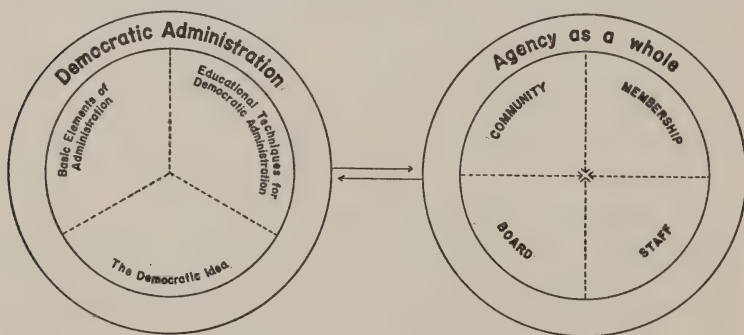
⁷ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1942) p. 109.

CHAPTER VII

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

UP TO THIS POINT, we have discussed the basic elements of administration, the democratic idea, and the educational techniques for its implementation. These represent the constituent parts of democratic management. Though artificially isolated for purposes of discussion, in actual practice they blend with each other into an integrated process, each exercising a reciprocal influence on the other. As indicated in the chart below, this unitary process is itself influenced by the nature of the component agency groups, to which it is directed. To a study of the interaction between process and groups, we shall direct the balance of our discussion. We begin with the board of directors.

CHART OF THE COMPONENTS OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION



FOCUSING ATTENTION ON BOARD DEVELOPMENT

Good boards do not just happen, any more than do good staffs, programs, and financing. The full potentialities of boards may not be achieved because we have not

invested as much time and effort in them as we have in other phases of agency operations. For effectiveness, the board needs first, to be considered important; second, to be deliberately administered as any other important unit in terms of planning, organizing, and the other administrative processes; and third, to be dealt with in terms of the democratic idea. Once the development of the board is seen as an essential task deserving a systematic attack, management will budget the time and effort required. To say that there is little time left over for this from what are considered more important duties is to rationalize a deficiency and overlook a major obligation of management. Management, when alerted to the recognition that human beings and their groups are central, will not be misled into overlooking them.

Once having singled out the board for systematic attention, management is then set for the application to it of the basic elements of administration. Through the first of these—planning—a decision is made in advance, on the objectives, functions, procedures, and program for board participation. Much of the planning will be conditioned by the aims and program of the agency, the nature of the board and staff, and the organizational structure.

Through employing the principles of organizing, management creates a framework of arrangements wherein there is an agreed-upon division of labor, a defining of duties, responsibilities, and authority. In this way, the place and function of the board are clarified.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE BOARD

The place of the board has been determined by history. Social agencies were founded by lay persons who formed themselves into a sponsoring group or board for the purpose of meeting some social welfare need in the community. Their sense of social mission was strong, their enthusiasm high. They “sold” the community, raised

funds, established the agency, and managed it themselves. With agency expansion, the responsibilities of these lay persons multiplied and consumed more time than they could afford to take from personal affairs. The way out was to "hire" individuals, many of them untrained, to relieve and to assist them. There was a master-servant relationship which was not questioned by these poorly qualified workers. These were ultimately replaced by trained personnel whose sense of the professional self resisted the laymen's domination, and who sought professional recognition. Today, the relationship between board and staff is tending to one of partnership.

Modern thinking fixes the basic function of the board as one of serving as the trustee of the agency on behalf of the community. The board idea is part of the American tradition. One-man social welfare agencies are held suspect. While existing boards may not have had a hand in establishing the agency, as was the case in earlier days, they are expected by the community to assume the responsibility for seeing that the agency functions properly and that funds are wisely spent and accounted for. The articles of incorporation and the bylaws confirm legally the community's transfer of power to the board.

In discharge of this basic responsibility as trustee, the board performs related functions. It establishes courses of action, that is, policies which enable the agency to reach its goals. It engages a professional head competent to direct operations towards these goals. It safeguards the continuing services of the agency by seeing that adequate funds are provided. It keeps the community informed as to agency progress, and brings to the agency and its staff first-hand information as to community conditions and needs.

These functions of the board are positive values for the agency and, through it, to the community. Such citizen participation can serve as a corrective to the narrowing professional interests of staff. In a democratic society, the

community should have a part to play in the control of its social institutions. Human values are best conserved through such group action.

No individual, because he is a professional, can be expected nor should be permitted to be the sole arbiter of social values. This is not the exclusive competence of the professional. On the contrary, "desirable as is the professionalization of administration, it cannot be wholly professionalized. Experts are essential to good city government but that does not mean that they should be left entirely without the restraints of lay association. If schools were run by schoolmen, libraries by librarians—there would be real danger of distressing formalism and inhumanity in their administration."¹

THE SELECTION OF BOARD MEMBERS

The understanding of the functions of the board by the directorate itself, by staff, membership, and community, safeguards the board's usefulness. To increase that usefulness, management concerns itself with the requirements for board membership, the size of the board, and the tenure of its members. While the size of the board and board tenure are usually written in the bylaws, it is interesting to note that the criteria for their selection are not. Individuals who are selected for political, monetary, and social reasons account for much of the "dead wood". Individuals who have no contribution to make, who do not believe in the purposes of the agency, who have special axes to grind or who are erratic, can deaden and disrupt an agency. They are not the kind that make for board cohesiveness and teamwork.

This essential, group cohesiveness, depends also upon the ability of the members to get along with each other, for this makes easier the matter of working together. Con-

¹ Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States* (New York: Century, 1926) p. 285.

geniality helps build up the group spirit. This does not imply an exclusive group with its members having the same social and economic backgrounds. Differences can be creative and are not necessarily divisive. Out of difference, there can develop a community of interest and common ground. Administration must look to the maintenance of the board as a cohesive group.

Candidates for election to the board need to be sought not only on the basis of their contributory strength to the agency, but also on the basis of their representativeness of groups in the community. Group representatives provide the pipe-lines of co-operation between the agency and their groups. This is not the only value. In a democratic society, various group interests should have the opportunity to get themselves expressed in matters affecting them. Neither a non-representative board, nor an administrator, no matter how sympathetic, can do this as effectively as the group itself. The choice of such a representative must be the prerogative of the board, if he is to feel that he is a part of the board and not just an outside delegate responsible to his group alone.

THE SIZE OF THE BOARD

The size of a board conditions its effectiveness. A very large board cannot become a good working group. It can deteriorate into a crowd where emotion and debate take the place of objectivity and reasoned deliberation. Genuine interchange of ideas is blocked and the sense of responsibility becomes thin. What size is best suited to boards as deliberating, legislative bodies, in which interchange of ideas can be fruitful? There is no answer of scientific exactness, but there are helpful clues and opinions.

It has been found that interaction among persons in a club group is most effective when the number is not more than fifteen, and in school classrooms, twenty-five.

Graham Wallas points out that the (English) Cabinet should not be increased beyond the number of ten or twelve, "at which organized oral discussion is most efficient."² From another source we hear that "a cabinet should be small, preferably ten or at the utmost thirteen."³ According to King, "the board of a private agency is seldom less than 9 or 12 and frequently 25 or 30—it is unusual to enlarge the board over 30."⁴ For group-work agencies, twenty-five has been found to be a suitable number for conducting business while being at the same time adequate to include representation of the many group interests encompassed by the agency.

BOARD TENURE

Board tenure has a further bearing on its fitness. Like Tennyson's brook many boards do go on forever. The answer obviously is a constitutional provision for limiting tenure and for periodic rotation. In this way, the characteristic hesitancy of nominating committees to drop persons from boards for fear of hurting them is conveniently resolved by mandatory provision. Able members are dropped with the others. If this is a serious loss, provision can be made for their re-election after a period of one year. Overlapping terms, while assuring continuity, make necessary an election for more than one year, and the weakness here lies in the fact that poor members continue to be a liability for two years or more.

There is no precise formula for judging what constitutes undesirable length of service. Aside from some arbitrary standards, one must look to the nature of the agency and of the board member for a reasonable answer. It may

² Graham Wallas, *The Great Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1914) p. 264.

³ Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, editors, *Papers on Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937) p. 8.

⁴ Clarence King, *Social Agency Boards* (New York: Harper, 1938) p. 36.

take a board member from one to three years to grow into an understanding of his job and of the agency. Members' usefulness may or may not increase with experience, depending on the individual. We need to find some middle ground between the perpetual board and the short term one whose members get off just at the point where they have learned to be useful.

HARMONIZING BOARD-STAFF RELATIONS

To aid in board effectiveness, management sets in motion the process of co-ordination whose aim is to keep the various subdivisions of the agency in harmonious relation with one another and with the whole. With respect to board-staff relations, management tries to eliminate misunderstanding between the two through an interpretation of their differences in function. Both bring to the agency skills and insights that are different in kind but equally essential in their mutual supplementation. The board is indigenous to the community, and may have close contact at the grassroots, while the staff brings to bear on community needs a technical knowledge and professional experience. The board, as part of the community, is continuous, while the staff may be transient. Without the staff, the board may suffer from a lack of plan and a sense of purpose and direction. Without the board, the staff may become too narrow in its professionalization.

The board legally has the final authority to which the staff is subject. The board's proper place, as defined by the science of administration, is in the making of policy which the staff should help to formulate, while the professional head is the executive officer with authority to administer within the framework of that policy. The assumption of legislative control by the staff is as much a usurpation of power as the assumption by the board of technical administrative control. "Boards which vote

on professional problems of case work are as much an anachronism as the executive who refers such matters to them.”⁵

When there are mutual respect and a sense of common partnership, the distinctiveness of each does not lead to competition. Differences can be creative when both parties undertake to explore the basis for integrating opposing points of view. The very discussion of differences can bring them closer together and prove mutually stimulating, when both parties are determined to seek the common good and are flexible enough not to insist on having their own way.

KEEPING THE BOARD INFORMED

Through the process of reporting, management provides the directorate with information about the ongoing life of the agency. This enables them to have a factual basis for objective policy making. Reports can also be instruments for their education. They provide an interpretation of agency services and trends which the board otherwise may not be aware of.

It is the function of management to engage in the process of evaluation for the benefit of the board. By means of studies and surveys, the board is helped to take stock on how well the agency is doing its job, and to discover ways for improvement. The board, in any event, makes its own appraisal through its informal day-by-day impressions, but these often need the corrective of more objective, organized study. The purposes of study are also served by the processes of budgeting and accounting. Administration utilizes these as occasions for board scrutiny of personnel, agency services, and administration in financial language which the board readily understands.

⁵ Bertha C. Reynolds, *Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work* (New York: Farrar, 1942) p. 327.

THE EXECUTIVE'S LEADERSHIP WITH THE BOARD

The process of leadership is the hub of board administration. Its aim is to see that things that need to be done with respect to board management are carried out. It involves the giving of leadership to all the administrative processes in board management and to the board as persons. It becomes democratic leadership when, in accordance with the democratic idea, it recognizes the individual worth of board members as persons and provides them with the opportunity for participation. It brings into use the educational techniques for the implementation of the democratic approach to board.

A prominent layman once remarked that he could not understand why the professional does not use case work and group work with his board as he does with his clients. Board members, like other human beings, have the same need for recognition, for status, and for new experience. They have the same inner conflicts and inner sense of inadequacy. They are no different from a staff group or a club group and, given the skills, there is no reason why the administrator cannot serve as their group leader, and identify his function as such.

For the board, he sets the same objectives that any group leader sets for his club: opportunities for satisfying experience, growth, and recognition. The professional need not hesitate here, for board members appreciate such opportunities. The intelligent member of such a board recognizes that the agency contributes more to his life than he does to the agency. His own business may not provide the same outlets for the exercise of leadership and for a socially minded interest in community affairs. His connection with the agency earns for him a place of importance in the eyes of the community, and he likes the feeling of self-esteem that goes with it. Professionals can and do help him to become a better person, and can give him new insights into human behavior and

group life that improve his own relations in business, in his family, and in his social group.

All of this assumes in the professional a sense of confidence, skill in human relations, and the conviction that his leadership needs to be exercised in behalf of the board as one of the integral groups of the agency. In this view, the board, as persons, become the beneficiary of agency participation as do the membership, the staff, and the community. He invites them to attend staff meetings, staff parties, club meetings. He clears the way for enough personal contact with the agency to generate feelings of mutual acceptance and partnership. The participation of staff and agency members in board and committee meetings further helps to lessen the characteristic social distance of the board from these groups.

THE BOARD MEETING SHOULD BE A DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE

This emphasis on persons leads democratic administration to view the board meeting as something more than a device for getting things done. The board meeting represents a group situation that can be used to such human ends as providing good-fellowship and self-expression. Each member should feel full freedom to make a contribution in his own way. The satisfaction of being recognized as an individual and of achieving status should be his.

The board meeting should keep the field open for discussion by presenting the issues underlying the specific items under consideration. Its focus can be on the basic problems, principles, or policies involved or on the larger social context.

It is a denial of the individual worth of the member when the chairman, the administrator, or a small clique dominates the proceedings. When these individuals give ready-made answers, when the board member has nothing

to do but listen, he may react with boredom, resentment, or a sense of futility which leads him to wonder why he came to the meeting in the first place. Under such a cut-and-dried procedure, there is little chance for him to acquire knowledge about the agency as he would from open discussion, or to learn how to make decisions for the agency. He is denied the development that comes from shared participation.

The major responsibility for providing a democratic board experience rests with the presiding officer. If he is a democratic personality, he frees the atmosphere for interpersonal relations and stimulates interchange of ideas. If he has little respect for the individual, or for the human values of group participation, or if he is absorbed only in himself, his manner is one that announces: "Let's get this meeting over with". He dismisses the group before it gets started. To such a chairman, a good meeting is one conducted with speed and dispatch and the less discussion, the better. He does not sense the members' resentment of this rejection of them.

While encouraging each individual to speak up, the chairman needs at the same time to see that the members operate as a collective unit, working toward some kind of conclusion. Without such direction, the board may become lost in a wilderness of talk, and may waste the whole evening trying to find its way back to the essence of the matter under consideration. The chairman needs to see the situation whole and have the skill of integrating different responses of members to a problem. Each member may see a problem in his own terms: the banker in terms of poor budgeting; the sales manager in inadequate public relations; the business man in faulty management; the housewife in unattractive facilities.

Democratic activation of the board meeting is the function of leadership. The interest of board members, their opinion of the agency, and their attendance at meetings are greatly affected by this. Since it is too important a

matter to leave to chance, the administrator needs to recognize that it is his responsibility to influence his president to use the democratic approach through the example of his own leadership at staff and other meetings; through joint evaluation of the board meetings, especially when the attendance has been poor; and through tactful guidance. The executive can be effective in this if there is an understanding relationship between him and the president, and if the president does not feel emotionally inadequate. Presidents do want to "make good" and many of them are ready for guidance.

THE EFFECTIVE BOARD

Given systematic and democratic guidance, the board can become an effective group that makes a vital contribution to the agency. When this is true, we find that the board members are in close contact with agency affairs, have an intelligent grasp of its problems, and devote themselves to their tasks and responsibilities. The board meetings are well attended and matters are competently dealt with. The staff members are accorded respect as professionals and are considered equal partners in the enterprise. In the broad experience, special competence, and genuine interest of the board members, the executive finds an indispensable source of guidance and moral support. By their many volunteer services, the power of the agency is multiplied.

VARIETY OF BOARDS

While the directorate is an indispensable part of the organization, the executive must nevertheless be aware of weaknesses, when they exist, and deal with them constructively. Like any other group, a board may be good, bad, or indifferent. In contrast with "good" boards can be placed many that "run the whole show", relegating the professionals to the background; and others that abandon

their responsibilities to the executives and become mere "rubber stamps". To one observer, the general picture is not too bright, for in his view the "truth compels us to admit that only a minority of boards constitute a cohesive and dynamic force".⁶

A COMPOSITE OF BOARD DEFECTS

Let us look at some of the defects that may be found in boards. To begin with, there are many social agency boards that are not representative of the community as a whole, or of the agency clientele. Directors may come predominantly from the upper income group. A study of the boards of one widely organized agency found that "only about four per cent of more than 9,000 lay board members were under thirty years of age when the majority of the membership fell in that category."⁷ In co-recreational agencies, the female representation on the board may be disproportionately low in comparison with the membership of girls and women. The directors in many cases reside outside of the district served by the agency, visit it only occasionally or not at all, and have as a result little first-hand knowledge of its activities or its membership. Considerations, other than competence and even genuine interest, may have determined the selection of a number of these directors.

AGENCY CONCERNS MAY BE SUPERFICIALLY TREATED

As a rule, board members are able individuals, but there are some who are ill-equipped to deal with agency matters. Like other persons, they may find answers to problems in their prejudices and in simple formulas. They may not be able or willing to make the mental effort to gather the

⁶ Clarence King, *Social Agency Boards* (New York: Harper, 1938) p. 5.

⁷ Owen Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* (New York: Ass'n Press, 1939) p. 180.

facts, see their implications, and draw conclusions based upon them. Instead, they may make quick, superficial judgments, based upon incomplete data or on single instances out of narrow experience. They may have a limited grasp of agency affairs and the human relations involved. Small, rambling talk may hold their interest while sustained analysis and reports may bore them.

This aversion to mental effort is understandable, since the agency may be only one of their several avocational interests, or since they may be weighted down by the pressures of more immediate personal concerns. Wallas observed that "having taken part in about 3,000 meetings of municipal committees, at least one-half of the members sat back and attended with almost the same mental attitude in which some of them went to church—with a vague sense that they were doing their duty and that some good must come of it." ⁸

OTHER CAUSES OF LIMITED PARTICIPATION

Board activity may be stymied for other reasons. The board may be dominated by one individual or a small group whose proposals are unquestioningly accepted. If the directors lack a knowledge of the agency, they may make decisions on the basis of the eloquence of a persuasive individual, without careful examination of problems. Board members may be inactive because they feel insecure, lack the capacity to cope with a problem "on their own", or fear to expose their ideas to criticism. The presentation of opposing points of view may be discouraged because of fear that it would disturb board harmony. This was illustrated in the case of one board in which the chairman closed each meeting with the remark: "Ladies, this has been a sweet meeting; all motions have been

⁸ Graham Wallas, *The Great Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1914) p. 276.

passed unanimously, and no differences of opinion have been registered.”⁹

BOARD ATTITUDES TOWARDS STAFF

The attitude of board members to staff members may not be satisfactory. Some directors view them as “hired hands,” carrying over from business the master-servant concept of relationships. In positions of business leadership themselves, they may have long been accustomed to having individuals work “under” them. The idea of “working with” may not be congenial to their thinking.

The assumption of leadership by professionals may give some board members uncomfortable feelings of inferiority. They may compete with the staff for status or try to relegate them to the background. It may be hard for some directors to accept social work as an art and science, with a distinct body of knowledge and professional skills. They may not find it easy to accept the trained professional as an expert. By way of rationalizing, they may view the professional as an impractical idealist who, in consequence, needs the strong guiding hand of the directorate. Because of this attitude, the administrator may sometimes find that a proposal advanced by a board member has greater chance of acceptance than if presented by himself. The profession of social work, unlike the ministry or medicine, does not always confer status on the worker in the eyes of some directors. The professional may have to secure status through his own personal efforts and special competence.

STAFF ATTITUDES TOWARDS BOARD

This lack of a sense of common partnership may be traced to staff attitudes as well. Quite naturally, with

⁹ Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution* (New York: Womans Press, 1935) p. 8.

growing self-consciousness as a professional, the worker may resent a dictatorial board with a master-servant psychology. The professional may not be impressed with the level of the board's functioning. He may even wonder whether it is not more of a liability than an asset to the agency. Anxious to get things done, he may fear the delaying action of the board when it suffers from indecision. His experience may have led him to distrust the group process with the board to the extent that he keeps important problems off its agenda. The board, he feels, may prove irresponsible in decision making because of the fact that it is not faced with the necessity of carrying out its own decisions and of experiencing the consequences thereof. This low valuation of the board may make it difficult for the professional to accept its members as colleagues, to give them due recognition, or to regard them other than as amateurs. This they naturally will resent.

The staff member may be disturbed by the fact that the board does not share his professional interest in standards of performance, in desirable personnel practices, or in technical knowledge and skills. He may be deflated when the board ignores him as the expert, and may be dismayed when it rejects his advice in favor of its own uninformed judgments. The board may assume entire credit for accomplishments that were predominantly his, and deny him the recognition he feels he deserves.

The professional becomes further removed from the sense of partnership when he permits himself to be overwhelmed by the board's prestige; when he is unable to relate himself to the individual members as persons because of his lack of social skills; and above all, when he cannot say and do the things he should because of the fear of losing his job. From these board-staff attitudes there may develop a feeling of separateness and actual conflict instead of mutual understanding, acceptance, and teamwork.

Because the board and staff members are co-workers

in a common enterprise devoted to the welfare of persons, there is an exceptional opportunity for the development of comradeship that can be richly rewarding to all. There is much they can learn from each other by way of insight and skill. Because they supplement each other, the contributions of both are essential for the agency. Out of the sharing of experiences, there can develop an increasing mutual respect for the contributions each can make to the common goal.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATOR

THE JOB OF THE ADMINISTRATOR represents a set of distinctive functions which, because he occupies the focal point of leadership, only he can perform and which he cannot delegate. He is charged with over-all responsibility for the agency. His must be the ultimate decisive responsibility of seeing that things get done. If the agency is to operate smoothly and effectively, he must co-ordinate the various parts into a unified whole. He must clear the way for the efficient participation of staff and other groups, and must reconcile their varied demands and interests. He must maintain perspective by seeing the agency as a whole and the significant relation to it of its many parts. He must provide the leadership that releases the efforts of individuals and makes for morale. He represents agency purpose, policy, and practice, and stands as the symbol of the agency. If the administrator does not or cannot assume these functions that are uniquely his, there is no one who can, and the result is agency deterioration if not breakdown.

In fulfillment of this over-all responsibility, the administrator sees his job as that of putting into practice the administrative processes of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, budgeting, and accounting, as these have previously been described.

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS A TECHNICIAN IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The democratic administrator, however, understands that these are only technical procedures that must be related to people. Accordingly, in the framework of his duties, he exercises his leadership through the human organization involved. He sees the administrative life of the agency as consisting essentially of individuals and

their groups. Not only must things get done, but the individuals involved need to express their own personalities in the doing. Things and people must be harmoniously related. He provides the conditions and the mechanisms through which the worker as a person can share in management for the satisfaction and developmental experience that can result.

The art of democratic management does not come to life out of a bag of tricks, a set of rituals, or formal arrangements. Nor is there exclusively any one good system. The democratic process, while supported by techniques, depends in the last analysis upon what the administrator and other personnel bring to it in terms of their democratic convictions and their democratic personalities. When introduced as a benevolent concession, it is sterile. The process falls flat unless the administrator believes in the worth of each individual, has faith in his educability, and the workers are emotionally ready for shared experience and are convinced of its value.

Genuine enthusiasm for the democratic process must permeate the feelings of all. When this obtains, they will be energized by it. The administrator will gain from personnel new insights, guidance, and information that otherwise might have been withheld. Their opposing views will be accepted as a contribution rather than as an unfavorable reflection on his judgment. On their part, workers can benefit from the fund of knowledge of the administrator and colleagues, be stimulated by the free exchange of ideas, and acquire a new sense of importance out of the feeling that their contribution is welcome and counts.

The initiating and nurturing of the democratic system must become for the administrator a special, continuous project as thoroughly administered as any other phase of agency operations. Otherwise, he will meet with disappointment, become frustrated, and be overcome with a sense of futility. Not talk, exhortation, and theorizing

around the democratic idea, but actual experience with satisfaction serves as the instrument for learning and training in co-operative relations. Expectancy of quick results must be restrained in appreciation of the fact that workers are engaged in the slow development of social habits.

DEMOCRATIC CRITERIA FOR MANAGEMENT

Into the criteria of good administration, heretofore fashioned primarily out of the concept of efficiency, the administrator needs to blend those of democracy. Then he evaluates his leadership in new terms. He measures his influence by the extent to which workers move under their own power, their energies are released, there is voluntary acceptance of responsibility, and new capacities emerge. All this can be achieved, he learns, by helping workers acquire some measure of personal satisfaction in their work; by giving them recognition; by delegating responsibility. He also learns that their loyalty and interest cannot be forced but must be earned by him through his acceptance of them as persons. In short, he sees administration to be the creative act of influencing others to their best efforts.

Democratic and autocratic administration present these contrasts:

THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATOR	THE AUTOCRATIC ADMINISTRATOR
Works to release energy in others	Works to watch over others
Looks for "answers" from others	Knows all the "answers"
Gets others to share responsibility	Does it all himself
Wants to build up others	Wants to be looked up to
Welcomes contribution	Is afraid of new ideas from others
Is the partner	Is the boss
Is the leader	Is the driver
Exerts power with people	Exerts power over people

CONTRASTING EXAMPLES OF ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR

The new executive of a community organization had embarked upon a reorganization program, in the course of which he invited representatives of constituent groups to a meeting. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to enlist their co-operation in the solution of certain problems. It was obvious that he believed in people and in sharing responsibility with them. This was the first sign of his new leadership. The second was the display of an ability to face the existence of a longstanding, confused situation, and to put his finger on the crucial, basic problems. Third, he deftly sketched the interrelation of one problem to another, thus creating an integrated picture and providing a basis for intelligent discussion. Fourth, he succeeded in freeing the atmosphere for full, open discussion. His tone of voice and whole attitude revealed his sincere desire for this. He placed the problems in the hands of those present and made them their own. By his words and acting he made the participants feel that their opinions counted for something. His skill impressed them and aroused their confidence in him. Many persons spoke. He listened to them with eagerness and respect. Whenever, he spoke, it was to facilitate their thinking by way of introducing new facts or by pointing to relevant principles that provided orientation. At the appropriate time, he gathered the threads of discussion into a summary into which he incorporated, by way of giving recognition, the contribution of each individual.

His leadership was especially appreciated by the group because of its striking contrast with the nondemocratic behavior of his predecessor, who had apparently not considered them able to share responsibility with him. Meetings, which were very few, because he did not wish or know how to encourage collective thinking, had been called for the purpose of reporting his already made de-

cisions. There was no suggestion of a desire on his part to hear the expression of group convictions. On the contrary, he created the impression that any questioning of his report would be unwelcome. In fact, his impatience made it clear that he was anxious to make the meeting as brief as possible. Individuals who came to express their own opinions were reduced to the status of listeners. There was only limited discussion by a few of the more courageous ones who could surmount the forbidding atmosphere. Thus, this administrator lost the benefit of group thinking and co-operative support. He had gone through the formality of the meeting as a mere gesture, perhaps in the mistaken notion that this was democracy in action. Some administrators are technically efficient but autocratic. Others are thoroughly democratic but ineffective. Neither can pass the test of sound administration.

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ATTITUDE UNDERLIES CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONS

That there is not a greater practice of democratic administration should not be surprising. Many boards make no demands for it, nor do they always agree with its philosophy. Such boards may criticize the administrator for poor business management, but rarely for poor democratic management. Accountable as he is to the board, the executive may find little incentive toward implementing democracy when this is not one of the board's expectations of him.

Even though he grasps the simple doctrine of democracy, the executive is confronted with the less simple problem of making it work. There are no fixed absolutes in his methods of approach, for he is dealing with a living process that must be adjusted to the time, the place, the stage of development of those involved, and whatever is peculiar to the nature of both individuals and agency at any given time. This continuous shifting and experi-

menting leave him in a state of uncertainty against which the rigid formulas of autocratic management loom up as a haven of security and refuge.

For this reason, and since he feels held responsible for getting things done, he may be tempted to employ the easier way, that is, giving orders and becoming the boss. Harassed by job pressures, he may find little time for the systematic introduction and maintenance of the democratic element in the agency structure. He may choose the quick method of direct action instead of spending time to influence the action of his fellow-workers. In such a dilemma, he may be misled by the fallacy that efficiency and democracy are mutually exclusive.

To share responsibility with others may represent a threat to his sense of adequacy. He may be uncomfortable in the feeling that he no longer has his accustomed hold on the reins of management. He may be upset by the necessary change in his working habits. Not too sure of himself, he may be driven by an unconscious need to dominate. The drive for power may be compulsive, an expression of aggressive behavior with its source in earlier frustration, with the agency serving as a convenient outlet.

He may suffer from "the illusion of final authority" as described by Mary Follett who noted: "I think some day we are going to recognize that this idea of one leader in business is a fallacy—there is power, leadership, all along the line". Administrators suffer from this illusion whenever they speak in such terms as: "I built a new wing on the building," or, "I have a fine club program going," when it is obvious that they did no such thing single-handed. There was "power, leadership, all along the line". Social administration can only come about through the socialized personality.

Domination from the top finds its way down the line. A domineering board or president tends to condition the behavior of the administrator toward autocracy in his

relations with staff. Thus, suppressed and frustrated, the staff may in turn restrict the freedom of the individuals and groups they serve, as the Lewin research on social climates has discovered.

Democratic administration is retarded when the administrator is economically or emotionally insecure. He then tends to become too self-centered and involved in his own feeling of anxiety to be outgoing enough to provide satisfactory experience for others. Similarly, he may tend to withdraw from co-operative relations when he is badly treated by board members, or by the president, as may happen if the board officers are poorly adjusted individuals who must "take it out" on others. Under these conditions, the administrator may be moved to compensate for his insecurity feelings by building himself up through the arbitrary exercise of his power with his staff.

THE EXECUTIVE EXERCISES GROUP LEADERSHIP WITH THE BOARD

Since democratic administration is achieved by the recognition first, that the agency is a composite of social groups, and second, that administration is a matter of group management, the democratic administrator sees his role as that of a group leader. As with a group leader in a club, the administrator relates himself to his groups as a person, as a guider of the group process, as an educator, a discussion leader, a problem solver, and an educational supervisor. The use of these educational techniques inheres in the very nature of leadership and its responsibilities.

It is inconsistent with the social agency's philosophy of interest in persons, and with the underlying democratic idea, for the administrator to feel inequality with respect to the board. The administrator and board are equal in the essential character of their respective functions, which though different in kind, are equally indispensable

to the whole. Professionals are justified in regarding themselves as worthy. This kind of self-evaluation influences the board's estimate of them. A feeling of inadequacy, with an accompanying sense of fear, leads some administrators to place a low valuation on themselves, and the board may accept this at its face value. When the individual worth of the administrator is thus rejected, democracy in administration becomes impaired, for it leads to his domination by the board.

As a group leader, the administrator conceives his function as that of the group energizer. There is no sound basis for the notion that at board meetings his is a passive role. Aside from lacking the right to vote, he is legitimately an active member of the board group by virtue of his special competence to contribute to its deliberations. It is not in the interest of good management for the board to make little use of his technical knowledge and competence. But he does not dominate the discussion. His task is to see that discussion is stimulated, adequate data presented, erroneous impressions corrected to the end of enabling the board to arrive at its own decisions. He advances or withdraws according to the requirements of the situation. He prefers to see a board member become the protagonist for necessary proposals, but when this is not the case, the administrator becomes the advocate himself. While he will criticize whatever he believes to be unsound, he will not consider his point of view as the only one which should prevail. While he will recognize the inevitability of some measure of dependence upon him, he will not be tempted to circumvent discussion by providing ready-made answers. He will be tolerant of the irresponsible talk of the uninformed and the biased, and he will place his reliance on the group process as the corrective and will use his influence to that end.

Board members react differently to the administrator's participation. Some in their own business expect the executive to make the decisions for them. Accordingly,

in their view, when the social agency administrator holds back in the interests of the democratic process, they may think it is simply because he does not have the answers. Others may resent any display of superior insight on the administrator's part. Still others may discourage his participation at board meetings entirely, or limit it to a clerical function.

THE ADMINISTRATOR MUST BE SKILLED IN COMMUNICATING IDEAS

In presenting his views to the board, the administrator must be able to express himself clearly and pointedly. Worthwhile projects may be voted down because of his inability to present their significance in effective words. Conviction and enthusiasm help, but these are not enough. Ideas must be communicated in popular language, in terms that have meaning for the hearers. Illustrative material, drawn from experiences familiar to the board, can be very helpful. The use of professional jargon merely serves to annoy. The administrator's presentation should be brief and compact. Board members dislike lengthy and verbose statements by professionals, although they tolerate this weakness in their colleagues. Women board members are more frequently interested in details.

THE EXECUTIVE AND THE BOARD MEETING

The board meeting is the situation in which learning about the agency can take place, and where the board members, as persons, are helped to grow. The meeting is a motivated situation in which real issues are met, and there is impetus to participation. The need to make a decision calls for the exercise of mental effort in becoming acquainted with the relevant data, in the formulation of values, the weighing of alternative solutions, and the selection of the most promising. Out of such self-activity, learning takes place.

This group-centered and educationally oriented characteristic of the board meeting can be encouraged by management. Seating arrangements should provide face-to-face relationships. A circular formation of chairs, usually around a table, serves this purpose. While the prepared agenda gives order and direction to the meeting, it should be flexible enough to accommodate new interests if they emerge. The test of the meeting is two-fold: How much was accomplished by the participants for the agency? How much was accomplished in their own education?

*The Executive Relates Himself Effectively
to the Board President*

The administrator recognizes that the chairman is the key figure whose leadership is the decisive factor in making the meeting effective. The chairman, as a person, must feel success in his position, make good in the eyes of his peers, and earn their recognition as a leader. Even though he has already achieved status elsewhere, the board situation represents for him a new challenge. This he takes seriously; at times, with diffidence and fear. Where there is mutual understanding, the administrator can help him acquire the essential techniques of group leadership. The chairman will welcome this training in the realization that it serves his own purposes toward effective leadership. In learning to lead a group democratically and to stimulate its participation, he discovers he has added to his own personal growth. Democratic leadership can be a new and satisfying experience, in marked contrast to the authoritarian practice common in his business world.

Before the meeting, the administrator usually runs over the agenda with the chairman. The administrator aims to reduce to a minimum the chairman's dependence on him during the meeting that will follow, realizing that the chairman's status with the group may otherwise be

impaired. During the meeting, prompting of the chairman, if needed at all, should be tactfully and infrequently done. Too much of it may make him uncomfortable and make an unfavorable impression on the board. Chairmen usually do not like their boards to say, as they do sometimes, that they are being run by the executive. The board members, identifying themselves as they do with the chairman as their colleague, may feel resentful.

PERSONAL CONTACTS

The administrator's contacts with the board go beyond the board meeting. He should see board members individually to talk over agency matters for the benefit of their thinking, or to provide them with background material essential to their understanding of agency problems. Through such visits, the board members acquire a greater sense of partnership in the agency. The administrator's personal attention to them may heighten their sense of individual worth.

The administrator has necessarily a closer working relationship with the chairman. Out of their common responsibility for the agency, there can develop a genuine feeling of camaraderie that is mutually rewarding in personal and agency terms.

The democratic administrator seeks to establish rapport with board members and others not only because it is good for the agency, but also because it is a human good in itself. This represents public relations at their best for they are motivated by an interest in persons as ends in themselves, rather than as means to an end, however worthy it may be.

In respect to the staff group, the democratic administrator performs the administrative acts of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, and the rest, not only on behalf of the agency, but also on behalf of satisfactions and growth that come to staff members. Uncertainty brought

on by weak planning, organizing co-ordinating is certain to be emotionally disturbing to the staff.

Finally, with the membership group, the democratic administrator applies the same principles of relationships as with board and staff. Usually having no direct functional responsibility with membership, as does the staff, he strives to make contact with them by creating special occasions for it. He can best do this by getting into their activities; by serving as a group-discussion leader or a club advisor; by joining a gym class; by interviewing new members. He can "circulate" through the building as a "greeter". These first-hand contacts are made not only in recognition of the members as individuals, but also because they provide the administrator with a first-hand grassroots picture so essential to sound planning.

Personal contacts are basic to democratic administration. The democratic idea comes to life not in organizational machinery so much as in relations with persons. Communicating with board, staff, membership, and community by means of printed reports and the like cannot be a substitute for face-to-face relations. Personal contact with the administrator, who to them represents the agency, gives them a greater sense of belonging. Politicians know full well the value of these contacts, and accordingly make themselves as accessible to the public as possible.

It may happen to an administrator that his paper work makes him increasingly remote from people, their needs, and their interests. He may touch the human life of the agency at only a few points. People become statistics and vital decisions are made on paper. The administrator's democracy thins out when he does not know what is in the hearts and minds of people.

CHAPTER IX

THE STAFF

THE PURPOSES, POLICIES, AND SERVICES of the agency are carried out by the staff—the professional, clerical, maintenance, and volunteer workers upon whose competence the value of the services depends. Because of this, no administrative responsibility is heavier than that of staff management, beginning with selection. Management systems, no matter how well perfected, are not self-operating; they must continuously rely for their maintenance upon the adequacy of the personality, insights, and skills of the worker.

Democratic administration, since it places greater responsibility upon the individual, needs to exercise more judicious care in worker selection than autocratic administration. The same sensitivity to the character of the individual must obtain in the course of his employment if he and the organizational life are to be harmoniously related. This attention to the individual is not only good because democratic, but is practical since it keeps the administrator mindful of the worker's personal reactions and, on occasions, the need for establishing means for his adjustment.

A MAJOR PRINCIPLE IN MANAGEMENT

It is a major principle of democratic management that recognition of the psychological needs of the individual makes for his improved performance. In this principle, there is no "naive partition of life" but an understanding that "all the personality goes to work just as all the personality goes to school".¹ The reduction of the worker to a

¹ James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1937) p. 397.

machine impairs the quality of his services. Agency purposes are not his when they have been superimposed and when he has played no part in their formulation. Denied opportunities for initiative, he works without spirit, doing only what he has been told and no more. When deadened by coercion, he avoids dealing with problems or calling them to the attention of management. He considers them "none of his business". Without a sense of purpose or belonging, he can have no pride of achievement. His power becomes reduced when he is "pushed around"; his job is above or below his abilities; he is rejected by his fellow workers.

Deficiencies of management, whether in poor planning, organizing, directing, or co-ordinating, thwart his efforts. The satisfaction of his needs for recognition, belonging, accomplishing, become blocked; he feels threatened as a personality. From this uncomfortable feeling he seeks an escape into forms of behavior that help him come to terms with his situation. That is, he may react by becoming aggressive or submissive, dissatisfied and resentful.

Under such circumstances, management unwittingly reduces his potential value to the agency when it could have achieved the opposite. It has undercut the basic tool of the professional worker—his personality.

WORKER SATISFACTION IS BASIC

From the democratic idea can be derived the basis for good personnel practices which make for increased worker satisfaction. Regard for individual worth gets expressed in the payment of adequate salaries, in provisions for job security, and in satisfying working conditions. Vacations, a reasonable work load, suitable work hours conserve the springs of his power—his personality. He needs also to have this power renewed by the stimulation of institutes, professional conferences, educational supervision and co-operative management. He is sustained by the emotional

security derived from knowing the nature of his job, the terms of employment, the basis on which his work will be judged, as well as by an administration which facilitates his functioning.

Democratic management also tries to discover the source of worker dissatisfaction which may exist outside of organizational arrangements. It may lie in the individual himself—in what he expects out of himself, his job, his personal life. He may be a problem to himself, disorganized because of emotional difficulties of which he may be unaware, or about which he may feel he can do nothing. By referral to outside help or through its own counseling service, democratic management accepts the responsibility for helping the worker deal with his emotional difficulties. The counselor encourages the worker to talk freely about what is bothering him; about his job, his supervisor, his personal life. He gives the worker the chance to “blow off steam” about his job grievances, which may be all he needs. Or the counselor may help him objectively to examine the pattern of his behavior, provide interpretation, and deepen his insight, so that he can cope with his problem. To the extent that the counselor is non-judgmental and the worker is free to be himself, this relationship can be effective.

THE INDIVIDUAL MUST BE REALISTICALLY UNDERSTOOD

It is wise for administration to see the worker for what he is actually, and not to be misled by a picture of what it would like him to be. He can be developed by training when the most is made of his innate capacities; if his limitations are important they can be corrected only by the intensive time-consuming process of personality re-education. Since behavior patterns have roots deep in developmental experiences, especially those of childhood, the needed treatment may be beyond the ability of management. In extreme cases separation is the only solution,

but there is much help to be had from psychiatric and other resources in most communities.

In temperament, some workers are quick, responsive, and outgoing; others are slow, cold, and retiring. In aptitude, some are "naturals" in working with groups, while others are at their best working alone. Even the best worker has limitations; he may have a high leadership "quotient", an average public relations "quotient", or a small capacity for management. By channeling his efforts into fields for which he is best suited, his usefulness increases and his limitations do not matter.

This is another way of saying that at times the job must be tailored to fit the man. In the group-work agency, this represents a challenge, since workers, especially where the staff is small, must be versatile enough to cover a wide variety of activities. The well-intentioned effort to improve a worker's administrative or other work habits, when he has deep emotional blocks that stand in the way, may prove futile as well as tension-creating for both worker and administrator.

PROBLEM INDIVIDUALS MUST BE IDENTIFIED

We need to identify certain problem types. There is the aggressive individual who arrogates to himself undelegated power and encroaches upon the prerogatives of others. He spills over into fields not his own, creating interpersonal frictions. Usually well-meaning, he can not envisage the consequences of his unrestrained acts. Expecting praise for what he views as initiative, he is at a loss to understand why he should be criticized.

There is the extreme individualist who finds it difficult to accept ways of doing things other than his own. He is indisposed to follow an agreed-upon plan and goes off on his own. He tends to resist authority and may have a definite dislike for his official supervisors because of their

greater power. He may be disturbed by his subordinate status, believing that he is superior and therefore entitled to a more important place. Sometimes, unable to adjust, he may break out into open rebellion. In many cases, this type of person may possess marked ability which contributes great strength to the agency, because of which management may be tolerant of his behavior up to a point.

In contrast, there is the worker who is submissive, lacks initiative, likes to be told what to do, and obediently carries out instructions. These must be detailed for him to a fine point. He yields easily to the suggestion and power of others. To face a responsibility "on his own" may throw him into a panic. While extremely dependent, he is usually reliable.

Then there is the procrastinator who is always putting off responsibilities until some future time. His desk is piled high with unanswered memos, letters, and telephone messages. He misplaces important papers and forgets about work assignments. Tickler systems do not seem to help. He keeps on running away from the things requiring immediate attention and seems plagued with fear of undertaking the risks involved in responsibility. His alibis are "too much work" or "too little time".

Another kind of staff member has excessive need for retaining the good opinion of others. Driven by the need to please, he finds it difficult to say no; he suspends or modifies agency regulations in his dispensation of favors. He creates a little world of his own with a group of his followers, to many of whom he may extend special privileges. He is very social, fraternizes easily with the membership, and is well thought of. Because of this, he is a distinct asset, yet he can undermine the whole system of agency procedures.

The rationalizer finds difficulty in objectively appraising his work performance. In the search for reasons underlying an unsuccessful activity, he chronically places

the blame on external circumstances, overlooking his own contributory weakness. He has an inner need to escape the exposure of his inadequacy, which he can not face.

The rigid routinist is a stickler for systematic procedure at all costs. He can not see the need for its adaptation to the specific situation. He becomes upset when routines are not followed and resists their modification.

There is the isolationist who tries to simplify his job by avoiding co-operative relations. These he considers entangling alliances that complicate things for him. He becomes detached from the collective stream of agency life, boarding himself up in his own little cubby-hole.

These categories are not completely exhaustive, nor are they mutually exclusive. They represent forms of behavior that are meaningful to the individuals in terms of conscious and more frequently unconscious inner drives. For these individuals, administration must assume the responsibility of educational supervision, as we saw in Chapter Six.

STAFF BEHAVIOR IS CONDITIONED BY GROUP FEELING

Because the group is a dynamic factor in worker behavior, administration becomes sensitive to group functioning, and the pattern of the individual's interaction within it. Administration strives for the creation of a good group life which can exert a positive influence upon the worker. Group life is impaired by individuals unable to get along with others. This, in turn, highlights the importance of selecting workers with this in mind. Since the purposes of the agency are strategic for the creation of a community of interest which acts as a group bond, the solidarity essential to group life becomes weakened by those who do not believe in these purposes, and consequently display little interest in the agency as a whole. Lacking this form of social motivation, the individual

remains outside the circle of the common interests that tie the workers to the agency.

Attention needs to be diverted away from workers' specialized functions to the agency as a whole. There is a strong, and understandable, tendency for each to view the agency in terms of his own specialty. As a result, departments become isolated and the agency is reduced to an aggregation of separate groups. Instead of unity, there is trouble-making divisiveness.

Membership retention, for example, should be made the function of the entire staff, rather than the sole responsibility of a membership secretary. At staff meetings, departmental lines should be cut across in order to make possible an interpenetration of interests. The physical education director should be encouraged to make his contribution to the program of the group worker, and the other way around. This applies to the adult education, dramatics, and music directors; to the building superintendent, and the office manager, each being encouraged to take an interest in fields other than his own. Such reciprocity leads to unification.

At the same time, the narrower activity concerns of the worker can not be overlooked. It is in these that the problems arise that press upon him. The setting aside of ample time at staff meetings for the consideration of the problems of the individual worker serves to highlight for him the importance of his job. He derives emotional support from such recognition.

Through job analysis, in-service training, and educational supervision, the worker is helped to make a significant place for himself; through this acquirement of status, his acceptance by the group is facilitated. He is in a position then to make his contribution and share with the others in common. Through staff social affairs, he is enabled to cement his relations with the staff group. Undergirding all this is the need to see that his job gives

him the personal satisfaction that serves to motivate him toward group participation.

THE STAFF MEETING IS A PRODUCTIVE SOCIAL INSTRUMENT

For such participation, the staff meeting is one of the most fruitful vehicles. Here, planning, policies, personnel practices, program, administrative arrangements, can be co-operatively dealt with.

The key problem in staff meetings is that of making the staff feel emotionally secure enough to speak freely about their problems. This involves not only helping them overcome the fear of expressing their ideas and the embarrassment of seeming to appear conspicuous, but also giving them the assurance that their comments, no matter what the quality, will be welcome. There is frequently an inhibiting feeling that the administrator would resent frankness. Therefore, when he presides, he must avoid a managerial manner and act in the more leisurely and educational role of the group leader.

There are inhibitions of another sort. The individual considers it unsportsmanlike to criticize his colleagues in an open meeting with the administrator present. This may occur when the problem situation under discussion is causally related to the poor quality of another worker's performance, and which therefore comes under the fire of implied criticism. Also, by implication, the discussion may reveal the necessity of making job readjustments for another worker who may be averse to any such change.

There are further brakes on full participation when the immediate concerns of the individual are not incorporated into the agenda, or when its flexibility does not permit the following up of new concerns or interests that emerge from the discussion. The after-meeting conversation, with its informal flow of ideas, may reveal the extent to which the meeting itself had been inadequate in securing free participation.

The staff meeting increases its influence as an educational instrument when the single instance under discussion is made the springboard for the broader analysis of the general underlying problem, or for the exploration of the general principles that can guide to the solution of the problem. In the case of the single-instance situation, interest in it may become limited only to those directly concerned. In reaching out to the broader implications, which are more likely to impinge on the concerns of all, the entire staff becomes involved in the deliberations. A wider interest in the proceedings is also achieved when specific problems are referred to relevant professional standards of practice, to agency philosophy, the experience of other agencies, and to the social and economic factors in the community. In such a broad context, the full significance of the specific problem comes to life.

STAFF ATTITUDES CAN IMPEDE COLLECTIVE ACTION

If democratic administration is to be the process that enables the individual to participate in group activity commensurate with his capacity, then the negative factors that block this process need to be identified and dealt with. Some of the factors were noted in the general misconceptions about democratic administration analyzed in an earlier chapter. There are additional obstacles more directly connected with staff. In the first place, many group workers fall short in the practice of the administrative skills of organization, directing, and supervising.² Since democratic participation must rest upon a strong administrative base, it suffers from this shortcoming.

To many workers, program and administration are considered as separate and distinct. They fail to see the

² See the American Association for the Study of Group Work, "Progress Report of Committee on Professional Education," (New York, Dec. 7, 1942).

integral relation between the two—how program is supported and conditioned by the administrative processes of planning, organizing, directing, recording, and the rest. They object to the time required for these processes, to the paper work involved, and to what they consider interference with their program proper. Their resistance may also stem from the fact that management procedures make exacting demands. There is a preciseness required and a deadline to be met, both less appealing than the more leisurely tempo of their program activity. Administration has not been stressed in their professional education, an area of knowledge and practice the importance of which has been overlooked by social work schools until recently.

The worker may feel about democratic participation as Wordsworth puts it:

“Me this unchartered freedom tires
I feel the weight of chance desires.”

It is unrealistic to assume that workers possess in equal degree the capacity for self-dependence and creativity required for shared participation. Some are unable, without considerable training, to use freedom constructively; they lose their way and get into difficulty. Some are disinterested in what they view as an extension of their responsibility. Others are completely unequal to freedom for it may prove too heavy a burden, as was the case with one individual who requested, “If you will please remind me and check up on me, I will appreciate it.” Let the executive initiate and make the decisions; that is his job. This is the rationalization of certain individuals. In the school profession, it has been estimated that twenty-five per cent of the teachers could undertake work on their own, fifty per cent require guidance, and twenty-five per cent are unable to do more than routine work.³

³ Thomas L. Hopkins, *Interaction—The Democratic Process* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1941) p. 421.

We may find an individual whose democratic experiences have been so unsatisfactory that he has come to disparage the group approach as a futile gesture and a waste of time. Another may follow the autocratic line simply because he has never known any other, influenced as he may have been by the dictatorial practices in his home and school. Then there is the person who can not apply democratic principles because he lacks the techniques for implementation.

Generally, the staff will respond favorably to democracy, and they will undertake the requisite new responsibilities, if the democratic process is effectively directed and involves them in a satisfying experience. In fact, when workers are accustomed to the process, nondemocratic leadership by an executive disturbs them. "If only my executive were democratic" is a complaint voiced by many workers.

MANAGEMENT CAN IMPEDE COLLECTIVE ACTION

Administration itself may undermine the democratic process. It becomes a mechanical and a token performance when sincere belief in it is lacking; when it is introduced by management without understanding or as a benevolent concession, or merely as a fad. The staff see through this superficiality and pretense, and their enthusiasm wanes. Second, administration may be restrained about extending the democratic process because of fear of staff domination, or because it will be obstructed by group indecision. In such a case, administration overlooks the fact that democratic participation does not cancel its power and responsibility for decisive control. Third, the democratic process is slowed down by the administrator when he becomes discouraged by what he believes to be the lukewarm response of the staff. This may be real or illusory. He must remember that he can not expect from the staff the same intense degree of interest and effort that is his

by virtue of his top leadership and because of his greater stake in the agency. Also, he must interpret the extent of staff co-operative activity in terms of their capacity for it. Lack of competence, rather than interest, frequently underlies the quality of staff reaction. Finally, democracy is weakened when administration reserves its practice only for special occasions. The democratic spirit rings true when it pervades all the relationships between staff and administration in their day-to-day contacts.

Democratic administration does not restrict the democratic experience to a few but invites the participation of all workers, professionals, and non-professionals alike. Clerical, maintenance, part-time and volunteer workers, like the professionals, have the same need for a sense of counting and belonging to the agency group. While theirs may be a lesser official rank in the organizational hierarchy, their services are indispensable and, therefore, important. They tend spontaneously to form informal groups of their own, and exercise an influence on their members' attitudes toward their work. The weight of this influence is exercised on behalf of the agency when these groups are taken in and encouraged to make their contribution to the whole.

MANAGEMENT OF VOLUNTEERS IS A MAJOR PROJECT

Since in many group-work agencies, volunteers represent a major part of the manpower, administrative attention to this group needs to be commensurate with their importance. To begin with, the volunteer system must be envisioned as a distinct unit. Not self-sustaining, it requires systematic management in terms of fixing the over-all responsibility in a single person who is charged with the business of implementing the processes of recruiting, selecting, placing, training, supervising, and evaluating these volunteers.

Recruiting

Volunteers don't "just happen." Recruiting strives to arouse and educate the community on the agency's need for help. It emphasizes more particularly the problems and social needs of young people to whom volunteers can render a leadership service. An organized plan of recruitment is essential, whether it be one in which special committees call on individuals from a prepared prospect list over the campaign period, or in which year-round recruiters, assigned to various city districts, solicit prospects in their neighborhoods. Non-professionals preferably should make the contact with potential workers, and in connection with a specific job that may be open. In the process of selection, each prospect needs to be appraised in terms of the requirements of the job and of leadership criteria, both clearly defined in advance.

Placement

The process of placement aims to fit the individual to the job for which he is best suited. The job needs to be one wherein the volunteer can achieve a reasonable degree of success, have a satisfying experience, and an opportunity for personal growth. Assignment of the individual to uninteresting and unchallenging work for a long period becomes irksome. Volunteers may complain that a low valuation has been put on their abilities.

Training

Training methods need to be adapted to the individual's background and interests. While preliminary training may be acceptable to many, there are those who want to get on the job immediately; for them, the in-service type of training is indicated. Literature, training films, the project, conference and institute methods, or observing the work of other leaders are methods to be used according to the situation. The organization of volun-

teers into a leader's group can be especially effective because of the mutual stimulation such association can provide.

Supervising

The supervising of the volunteer needs to be undertaken with the same spirit used in supervising the professional worker. The volunteer also needs the benefits of educational supervision—getting recognition, a sense of direction, and growth. Too often after placement, he is forgotten and left without guidance to shift alone—a frequent source of unrest and dissatisfaction. The volunteer needs to be continuously stimulated and motivated. It is erroneous to believe that his so-called wish “to be of service,” as the volunteers commonly express it, provides that continuous motivation. Such a belief assumes a selflessness that is too much to expect from the average person, if in fact there is such a human quality. This wanting to “be of service” quite often is, in fact, the unspoken want to achieve, to acquire status, to gain recognition, or to have new experience. Besides, the assumption is misleading in that it shifts administrative attention away from the necessity of employing appropriate means to satisfy the volunteer's real need: a satisfaction which is the foundation for his continued interest and effectiveness. This represents a positive challenge, the recognition of which may tend to counteract the patronizing and depreciatory attitude towards volunteers that sometimes obtains among professionals.

Evaluation

The volunteer system needs to be periodically evaluated on the basis of some criteria. These could include the following questions: Is the volunteer department systematically managed? Are its operations adequately financed? Is over-all responsibility for its development fixed in some one person? Is the recruiting program well

planned and organized? Are there job descriptions and personnel standards? Are volunteers exposed to satisfying and developmental experiences under a program of educational supervision? Is the democratic process in use?

Shared Responsibility

Referring questions about policy and procedure to volunteers involves them in a measure of responsibility for the agency as a whole, as the result of which the quality and duration of their services may become extended. More than this, they become skilled in the art of democratic practice, the development of which among the citizenry is an inherent responsibility of the group-work agency.

CHAPTER X

THE MEMBERSHIP

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE of the administrative process described thus far is to release effectively the full powers of personnel toward the accomplishment of the agency's goal, that is, to render fruitful service to the membership. The persons served represent the focal point of the network of organizational arrangements. Pre-occupation with organizational machinery may tend to obscure this important fact.

As with the other agency component parts, administration segregates the membership group as a distinct unit and then brings to bear upon it the processes of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, and co-ordinating, as these have been previously analyzed. With respect to the management of the membership group, there are established beforehand the goals, the steps to be taken to reach these goals, and the structural pattern of operational arrangements. Responsibility is allocated under direction and supervision. The efforts of all those involved are harmoniously related into a unified, consistent approach. Records are kept, results evaluated, and the whole project budgeted and accounted for financially.

MEMBERSHIP GROUP IS CONDITIONED INDIRECTLY

Any plan must be aware of the fact that management of the membership group begins, not with it, but further upstream. For better or for worse, decisions which have been made by the board or the staff with respect to the purposes, program, personnel, facilities, finances, and other agency aspects, influence the pattern of membership management. These agency aspects predetermine the general characteristics of the membership group, and

consequently the type of membership problems that may arise for management to deal with.

For example, when the policy of serving both men and women is established in the first place, this decision will lead to membership problems of co-educational relationships, and will, as well, influence the selection of personnel, the construction of the activity program, the character of the facilities, and the nature of agency regulations. These may not be the same when the opposite policy of limiting services to one sex is determined upon. Whether or not the membership fees are nominal or substantial, the age-range limited or otherwise, or whether the building is located in a residential district or in the downtown section also represent selective factors which predetermine the type of membership, and hence the nature of administrative problems with respect to it. Emphasis placed on adult education will draw persons thirty years of age or over, while younger people in their teens and twenties will be attracted if the emphasis is on social affairs and sports.

The broader the basis for admission to membership, the more heterogeneous becomes the membership group, which complicates the task of membership integration into the agency as a whole. Delimitation of the agency's scope can lead to a greater homogeneity of membership. However, guided by the democratic ideal, group-work agencies have been increasingly drawing their constituency from a cross section of the economic, social, racial, and religious groups of the community. The problems of membership administration become more complex with such a diversification of groups.

Membership management takes cognizance of other indirect forces which influence it. In many cases, the individual joins the agency because of the fact that his friend already is a member. Through his friend, he learns about agency purposes, traditions, customs, and organizational procedures. The friend's attitude towards the agency

affects his own. Or the prospective member has gathered information and points of view about the agency from newspaper publicity and general talk in the community. In these two ways, a picture of what the agency represents, its expectancies of the member, as well as its privileges for him, are transmitted.

Then there is the impact upon the member of the institutional environment. It is noteworthy that an attractive, well-maintained and serviceable building favorably affects members' attitudes, while a dilapidated structure with run-down facilities tends to have the opposite effect. There is less pride of ownership, less respect for property, less regard for regulations.

The collective attitude of the staff generates the human atmosphere which becomes as much a part of the institution as the furniture and which subtly insinuates itself into the member attitudes. To the members, coldness and impersonality spell rejection, while warmth and friendliness speak acceptance. When they are made to feel at home, they are motivated toward co-operating and the path of administration is less strewn with membership problems.

Members quite unconsciously respond favorably to orderliness, consistency, and decisiveness in management. Haphazard procedures undermine respect for the agency. An administration that is careless leaves too many loopholes which, when taken advantage of, create problem situations. A member gets a sense of assurance from the feeling that the institution is soundly managed, that matters are handled in the right way, at the right time, and with good reasons.

MEMBERSHIP GROUP IS CONDITIONED DIRECTLY

All these factors represent the more subtle things that condition membership behavior, and administration sees them as possible sources of membership difficulty. Against the background of these factors, administration proceeds

more directly to institute arrangements which will achieve the goal of membership management; to help the member secure, through his participation, those personal satisfactions which are meaningful to him. This is achieved in a number of ways.

Management Defines Membership Relations

In the first place, since the agency is a community in microcosm, there is required a definition of the member's relationships to the agency as a whole and to other members. For all the members to decide individually the nature of these relationships, is to make it impossible for any of them to function. Without rules, for example, for the use of the handball courts, a small clique can employ devices of their own to make that facility primarily theirs to the exclusion of many other individuals, resulting in endless bickering and interpersonal frictions that spoil the game for all. Management's responsibility is to set up rules that harmonize the diversity of interests. It develops its own body of law, known as house rules, including regulations for the use of the gymnasium, swimming pool, badminton courts, and other program facilities as well as other operational situations.

Formulating and Enforcing Regulations

It is essential that these rules be reasonable, simply stated, and without ambiguity, and that they be understood by the membership. Like all laws, unless they are enforced firmly and fairly, they serve little purpose, and tend to generate a cynical disregard for the agency. These rules will prove irritating to some because of the restraints which they impose. They give rise to complaints about red tape. Resistance to controls is characteristic of the individualistic spirit that American democracy engenders. However, rules become more acceptable when they are explained in terms of their social necessity, and when the members have shared in their making.

In spite of this, members do break rules, and in such cases the agency is committed by its very purpose—interest in persons—to use educationally corrective rather than punitive treatment. As a last resort, when there is no other way of protecting the interests of the membership, it may have to fall back upon the use of penalties.

A sound body of rules is one of the most economical instruments for control. When management has the foresight to create them and the resolution to carry them out, staff energy and time are conserved for their creative work. Otherwise, too much of their time is taken up in dealing with membership resistance and misunderstanding which flourishes in the fertile soil of undefined arrangements.

OUTLETS FOR MEMBERSHIP EXPRESSION

Membership relations to the agency can be safeguarded in other ways. Frequently, the opportunity for the member to blow off steam to a sympathetic listener is all that is needed. The suggestion box, gripe sessions, club and council meetings, staff contacts with individuals, can serve as wholesome outlets for membership expression. Complaints can serve as effective springboards for clarification of rules. Complaints many times reveal administrative weakness. There may have been the failure to modify rules that have become antiquated because of changed conditions. The rules may be ill-adapted to the individual, may no longer be necessary or may actually impede smooth operations.

The staff, on whom enforcement must depend, need to be convinced of the desirability of each of the rules. This essential requirement is met when the staff have had a part in the formulation of regulations, and when the reasons for regulations are clearly analyzed. These reasons may lie deeply buried in troublesome situations of past experience that needs to be dug up, especially for new staff members. Following such clarification, it needs to be

seen that the rules are uniformly applied in all of the departments, for otherwise members become confused. They do not know "where they are at", and effectiveness is undermined.

STAFF INFLUENCE WITH MEMBERS

The transmission to members of the expected pattern of behavior in the agency is an important staff responsibility. Because of membership turnover, it is a never-ending job. Where administration, through its use of the democratic method, succeeds in leading the staff to assume responsibility for the agency as a whole, over and above their specific jobs, the result is a concerted effort not only of the professional, but of the nonprofessional worker as well. The lobby desk-clerk, for example, because all members come to his desk at one time or other, can be an influential center of control. This is especially true when members gravitate to him because he is friendly and he establishes close relationships with them. Administration tries to ascertain the other center of such influence exercised beyond the so-called line of duty by the volunteer, clerical, and maintenance staffs whose jobs bring them in contact with the membership.

All this is not to say that administration places its major reliance upon rules: it establishes as well social controls that grow out of group morale. The fewer the rules, the better. Their importance lies in the fact that they tend to free the energies of staff for its major task of providing satisfying experiences for members.

MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS TO ASSIMILATE THE MEMBER

A second function of membership management is the assimilation of the member into the agency. As with board and staff, the democratic concept of the worthiness of each individual provides the clue to membership man-

agement. This concept suggests the importance of understanding the motives behind membership affiliation, as an essential preliminary to successful assimilation. Since individuals are different, their motives are diverse. In terms of activity, members may come to the agency to play handball, take a swim, paint a picture, listen to a lecturer, take part in a club. In terms of desires, they may participate to maintain their health, to express themselves creatively, to keep informed, to develop a hobby, to enjoy the company of their fellows and so on. In an adult education department, for example, it is unwarranted to assume that the only motive is intellectual. Participation may be prompted for any of a number of reasons beyond the intellectual motive, as was revealed by the study of students made by the British Institute of Adult Education.¹ These students listed these reasons among others: rounding out their personality, acquiring culture, finding relief and diversion from their monotonous lives, seeking a social purpose, making friends.

Everyone has the need for fellowship, for belonging to a group. In many instances, affiliation is motivated by this need, even though it is not expressly so stated by the member. The activity program for these individuals is the means to social relations. Membership management is on a sounder footing when it operates on this understanding. Then its provisions for meeting membership desires become elastic. Such a viewpoint serves as a corrective to management's tendency to think in terms of things instead of persons; to overlook the fact that assimilating the member means his integration not only with the activity program but with the social group.

It is this sense of belonging which makes for a longer affiliation with the agency. The individual, being primarily a social being, finds his most satisfying experience

¹ W. E. Williams and A. E. Heath, *Live and Learn* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1936).

in fellowship. This is of special importance to him in this machine age. He has become a lost person in the magnitude and impersonality of city life. The group-work agency becomes a haven to him and he feels quite disappointed if there he meets up with the same coldness and impersonality of the city from which he is trying to escape. In such an instance, he seeks the bread of friendship and is given the stones of activity.

MEMBERSHIP INTEGRATION IS A THREE-WAY PROCESS

Membership integration is a three-pointed approach: the member is related to the activity, to fellow members, and to the staff. Activities need to be diversified to match the varied member interests. Member-to-member relations are promoted by a planned socialization program which facilitates free, frequent, and friendly social intercourse. The staff can personalize the institution by an individualized approach which lifts the members out of the anonymity of the larger group. Staff-member contacts make for longer membership tenure, for members relate themselves more readily to persons than to activities. The techniques of membership integration—the discovery of interests in the introductory interview, the welcome into the agency, the guidance into the activities and groups, and subsequent follow-ups—need to be put into a social, human setting, if they are not to become mere expedient devices that end in sterility.

MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS TO INVOLVE THE MEMBERS IN A CO-PARTNERSHIP

The third function of membership administration is to involve the member in co-operative experience. The first step in this direction is to rescue him from being lost in the crowd through the establishing of a wide range of

groups, among which he can make a choice according to his interest. The evils of a conglomerate membership can thus be mitigated. In these small groups the individual can find a place for himself and have a sense of belonging to the agency as a whole. Through them he can find his own niche, whether it be in a club, a special interest group, a class, a leadership group, an athletic team, or informal social units spontaneously created out of common interests. The democratic process has its beginnings in these small groups when the individuals are encouraged to share common problems and responsibilities.

Democracy of participation must be a part of program policy as well, by keeping the activities open on the broadest basis of participation. This is not the case when, for example, dramatic groups become closed groups for the talented few; when there is an over-concentration of energy on the development of winning athletic teams; when the staff entertains the myth about the aristocracy of the arts that leads members to believe they must have special talents to join music, dance, dramatics, arts and crafts groups.²

The next step toward democratic participation is the relating of the member to the agency as a whole. Bridges must be established which connect the many groups to each other. The very distinctiveness of purpose which created the single groups in the first place separates them; they become small worlds of their own, with limited or no intercommunication. When joined by a common interest in the agency as a whole, there is provided the opportunity for democratic experience in a broader frame of reference. We cannot expect too much here unless the member has been made to feel that he belongs, and is well acquainted with his fellows; when he has not had the chance to acquire the skills of democratic participation

² See Louis H. Blumenthal, "Enter By the Stage Door," in *The Practice of Group Work*, edited by Dorothea Sullivan (New York: Association Press, 1947).

in his own group or when democracy has not been established in the activity program.

Collective agency-wide action becomes more difficult to achieve when these preliminary democratic conditions are absent. There are other conditions which need to be considered.

The Integrity of Each Group Must be Conserved

When a representative house council is the medium for intergroup functioning, the integrity of the constituent groups needs to be conserved. Respect for their worth as individual groups and their full recognition as integral parts of the agency are necessary. This provides the assurance that their functions will not be impaired or that their identity will not be lost, which are their two chronic fears. As in federal-state relationships in government, there is sensitivity to any trespassing upon rights and powers.

On the other hand, these subgroups need to be led to an acceptance of the principle of respect for the agency as a whole, whose integrity too must be protected in terms of its rights and powers. Thus, mutual respect and the acknowledgment of the distinctiveness of the function of both, instead of leading to difference and conflict, serve as the basis for harmonious relations, the maintenance of which is a constant challenge to democratic leadership.

Self-Government Must be Real

Not only respect for the group, but a democratic regard for the worth of the individual member is also essential. To the member, it is a denial of his individual worth when his participation in self-government, such as in the house council, becomes just a futile gesture. This is the case when he has had no decisive part in the formation of council purposes or when he feels stifled by indiscriminate staff domination and does not feel free to speak up. The procedures may become cut-and-dried, with little opportunity to tackle real problems; or group decisions may not

be given due weight by the agency. When the council process has not been instituted in good faith but rather as an opportunistic concession, and council meetings deteriorate to a form and a ritual, it is no wonder the member becomes alienated, for in reality, he has been made to feel that his contribution is not wanted. He sees through this pseudo-democracy.

The council process begins to appeal when it becomes meaningful to himself and to his group. It is made so when the outcome is a co-operative experience that is satisfying. This can only be accomplished by a leadership that provides situations in which the member can achieve a sense of power through undertaking responsibility on his own with freedom to make decisions. Making the member feel significant depends not so much on the specific form of self-government organization, as upon the faithfulness with which democratic principles are applied.

Members Must be Involved on Many Fronts

Readiness for the assumption of responsibility comes from the member's previous involvement with the agency. Experience tends to verify the homely truth that the more he does on behalf of the agency, the more interested he becomes. He comes to have a stake in the enterprise and his roots then strike deep. His taking part in program activity, his membership on a committee, or the performance of miscellaneous services for the agency, are the links in the chain which bind. The providing of sufficient opportunities for such participation, wisely supervised, represents a distinct task for membership administration.

Responsibilities Must be Defined

Another condition for successful self-government projects is the clear definition of the areas of responsibility. The limitations to the exercise of power need to be thoroughly explained and agreed upon beforehand. The

levels of power, whether final, advisory, or otherwise, need to be outlined. With such a prior understanding, jurisdictional disputes as between groups and administration and the frictions which they create, can be reduced to a minimum. This allocation of power needs to be geared to the level of the group's competence and experience, both of which leadership tries to deepen. Otherwise, self-government becomes bogged down by its own weight and threatened by a sense of failure.

There Must be Unification Around Common Goals

Concerted action is facilitated when the heterogeneous subgroups are unified around a community of interests. The purposes of the agency, the cause it represents, the experience of collaborating in common projects, the cementing ties of fellowship, are unifying factors. These elements go into the making of group morale which supplies the collective determination to reconcile differences, overcome difficulties, and to serve the common good. This collaborative effort is intangibly but effectively influenced by friendly interpersonal relations which need to be promoted by such socializing activities as luncheon or dinner meetings, parties, and other social affairs.

Self-Government Takes Varied Forms

There are various forms which membership participation in management can take such as departmental and house councils, club presidents' council, junior board of directors, membership on the board of directors and its committees, membership meetings and the rest. Whatever the structure, it needs to be suited to the requirements of the agency and its constituent administrative groups. As with the individual club groups, here too, the needs, interests, and capacities of the component groups are conditioning factors. Constant adaptation to the demands of experience is called for as well.

Skilled Guidance is Required

However, whatever the machinery, self-government comes to fruition not through it so much as through effective administration in terms of planning, organizing, directing, and the rest; and through the democratic convictions of the staff and their skill in the use of democratic techniques as these have all been previously discussed. Leadership recognizes the fact that the problem of arousing and developing membership interest in management is of one piece with the difficult problems of democratic government generally in the training of individuals for responsible citizenship.

To meet the problem, leadership's approach is in terms of exposing members to democratic experience, developing in them the skills of democratic participation, and utilizing situations as instruments for their democratic education. Leadership safeguards the whole process by a fulfillment of the conditions just described and by an understanding application of democratic principles. The misconception of these, as discussed earlier, can lead to a personal frustration that may prove detrimental if not destructive to democratic membership management.

MEMBER ATTITUDES BLOCK THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The leader needs as well to be aware of the obstacles placed in his path by membership attitudes towards democratic participation. In the first place, the member may be indifferent, the reasons for which may be varied. He may not have the urge to participate beyond his immediate interests. In his brief and sometimes not too frequent visits to the agency, he wants to relax, and have fun through playing a game, modeling a vase, swimming in the pool, meeting his friends, and the like. With personal and job responsibilities of his own or being tired after a day's work, he does not want to burden him-

self with further responsibility. He is in no frame of mind to place an additional tax on his energies.

In fact, he sometimes lets the staff know that he joined the agency and pays his dues only for recreational purposes, and that beyond these he feels he has no obligation to the agency. His activity interest proves entirely adequate for his needs, as far as the agency is concerned. In such a case, the agency's advertising of its program has succeeded only too well in selling its service features. Besides, his attitude reflects the general disinterestedness of citizens in assuming responsibilities because of their preoccupation with more personal matters, and because of their inclination to leave public matters to the experts.

The agency may have a tenuous hold on the member. His contacts with it may be casual, his affiliation of short duration. When, as is often the case, membership turnover is substantial, the result is that the individual is not sufficiently acquainted with the agency's purpose and scope to want to become identified with it and to share in responsibility for it.

There may be other reasons for membership lack of interest. Many members feel it is the job of the staff to make the decisions, and as a result cannot understand why they should be drawn into the democratic process. Others may have been adversely conditioned by unsatisfactory democratic experience which they have come to consider as futile and as a waste of time. Also, there is the large number of members who make use of the agency entirely on an activity basis, so that they have not been involved in the democratic experience on the small group level which might have prepared them for broader agency participation.

Then too there is the active member who has been elected to the board of directors who is not enthusiastic about this type of service. On the board, he may feel out of his element, surrounded as he is by individuals whose broader community experience and competence,

and higher socio-economic status may overwhelm him. He may feel that he is not accepted as an equal; or he may not know exactly how to make his contribution to a board meeting. As a result he feels at a disadvantage, loses his interest, and minimizes the importance of serving on the board. In the effort to involve the membership in a responsible partnership in management, these obstacles need to be constructively dealt with.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMUNITY

THE ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACH to the community is complicated by the fact that it is an amorphous and elusive entity. In contrast, board, staff and membership groups are more precisely defined and hence more manageable. They are concrete, specific targets for agency action, whereas the community is too complex for such a rifle-shot approach. While desirable, it is not within the means of the agency to keep in touch systematically with the whole community in any sizeable city, aside from superficial and intermittent newspaper notices. Because of the prohibitions of cost and available energy, each agency is compelled therefore to select out of the vast conglomeration of civic, educational, social, fraternal, religious, business, and geographical groups a limited public for a sustained program of relationships.

Another hindrance lies in the fact that the general public does not press upon the agency with as much day-by-day intensity as do the board, staff, and membership bodies. Lacking this continuous stimulation, the agency is lulled into inactivity and community concerns tend to be overlooked. Hence, administration needs to prod itself and become more self-conscious of its responsibility for community relations.

COMMUNITY PERMEATES THE AGENCY

Towards this end, a sense of perspective helps. The agency, no matter how isolationist it may be, is nevertheless permeated by the community, from whose influence it cannot escape. The social institution is a creature of the community which established it in the first place. The

community's expectation of the agency, while not always articulate, is real enough; it is within the power of the community to give or to withhold financial and moral support as well as continuing sanction. Administration therefore must discipline itself to satisfy the community expectations of it.

Generally speaking, the community expects that the agency, as its instrument, will enhance community life, spend its funds wisely, maintain accepted standards of practice, meet new needs, share in community planning, and that it be well regarded by the public in general and its constituency in particular. Community imposes, tangibly and otherwise, these tests of the social value of the agency.

The interplay between community and agency, though it may defy exact analysis, is continuous. Community's interests, attitudes, and resources influence policy, program, the organizational pattern, staff, and board selection. In these and other ways, the strands of community life weave themselves into the agency, so that it is not entirely in keeping with the facts to assert that the destiny of the agency is directly in the hands of its board, staff, or membership. Like these groups, the community, too, is an integral part of the agency, participating sometimes directly, but mostly in less direct ways.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS A FUNCTION OF ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES

There is then the practical necessity for instituting a regular process of community relations that can mobilize the forces of the community and enlist public opinion on behalf of the agency. The practice of sound administration represents a basic means of guaranteeing these ends. Community relations is a continuing function of the over-all processes of management, rather than that of any single operational unit. We must examine, then, the

processes of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, and the rest for their impact upon community.

Planning, rightly conceived, is community oriented. It helps to formulate agency purpose and program in the light of community needs. In this, it is guided by knowledge of the community—its social, political, economic conditions, population characteristics, existing educational, social service, recreational resources, civic, fraternal and other associations, and community planning bodies. This information can help avoid unnecessary duplication of services with a resulting conservation of public funds. Planning keeps the agency alert to the demands of community changes and serves to counteract the institutional tendency to hold on to the status quo. The agency is also kept alert through studies of public attitudes and impressions about it; such knowledge can have a corrective influence on agency practises.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE GROUP-WORK AGENCY

By such gathering of relevant data, including also information on the newer practices in the professional field, planning enables the agency to reformulate its purposes and program in keeping with the demand of the times. Planning is imperative in the group-work field because it is still comparatively new and has been constantly undergoing the process of change, as its history clearly shows. In the beginning, the purpose of some agencies was to keep children "off the streets" and to prevent delinquency; the program was limited to a few activities, mostly physical. The appeal was to the underprivileged segment of the community, the leadership was untrained, the management authoritarian, and the financing meager. A shift took place under the impact of social changes and the developing sciences of education, psychology, and sociology.

These social sciences emphasized the distinctiveness of

the individual's personality, the education of the whole person, learning through experience, the values of freedom and self choice. As a result, leadership of youth was conceived anew as requiring a person trained as an educator, in contrast to the earlier type of leader whose main asset was the desire to "do good". The use of small groups was stressed, sufficiently diversified to encompass individual differences among youth. Programs were expanded to include arts and crafts, music, dancing, drama, and so on. These activities came to be viewed not as ends in themselves, but as the means for developing persons. Also, in the course of this evolution, the base of participation was broadened to include not merely the "underprivileged", but the entire community. Agency financing became less precarious and less dependent upon the few; it became more a function of the entire organized community.

World War II dramatically illustrated how environmental change—the dislocation of family and community life—modified agency concepts and program. Among others, the teen-age centers and youth councils were distinctive social phenomena of the war. For too long, youth had been kept in the background, and in an enforced, prolonged dependency. Programs for them had been mainly adult led, under authoritarian control. During the war, youth demonstrated a capacity for self-direction and for the assumption of responsibility. Their revolt against adult paternalism and neglect was wholesome and productive of a new approach to them.

Another stage in the evolution of group work, from a decade ago to the present, was one of study, experimentation, and professionalization. Efforts have been made to refine the group process as an educational technique, to formulate philosophy and objectives, to develop standards of performance and criteria for leadership. The literature in the field grew. In 1935, group work was accepted as a

specialization in social work by its inclusion as a section of the National Conference of Social Work. In 1936, the American Association for the Study of Group Work was formed and in 1946, at Buffalo, it was converted into a professional organization as the American Association of Group Workers.

This steady revision of philosophy, method, and leadership approach has tended to modify institutions to the end of more adequately serving their communities. In the future as well, adequate service to the community is contingent upon the achievement of agency flexibility through systematic planning.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION MAKES AN IMPACT ON COMMUNITY

As with planning, the administrative functions of organizing and co-ordinating exert an influence beyond the agency into the community. The organizational structure, as defined particularly in the bylaws, places final responsibility for the agency upon a group of citizens, who, serving as the board of directors, act as trustees on behalf of the community. Since they are indigenous to the community, they are constantly exposed to the currents of community feelings, attitudes, and wishes, to which they are inclined to be sensitive, perhaps more than the professional. The importance of maintaining the so-called good will of the public looms unusually large in their considerations, sometimes disproportionately so.

The average citizen usually feels freer to communicate with the board members who, like him, are also lay persons, rather than with the professionals. Also, because of this closer relationship, the board personnel are effective transmitters of agency concerns to the community. The board then serves as a natural connecting channel between the public and the agency. Thus community inter-

ests are caught up and agency interests promoted that otherwise might be neglected. Where the board is truly a representative cross section of the population, the community as well as the agency is better served. Accordingly, through the process of organizing, the administration tries to safeguard the lines of communication between agency and public.

The process of co-ordinating implements the organizational structure, and tries to keep the component groups of the agency in harmonious relation with one another. Discord among the parts—board, staff, membership—impairs agency service to the detriment of community. Knowledge of such dissension quickly percolates into the community, which is not always too averse to believing the worst, and agency reputation suffers. A house divided against itself diminishes public confidence.

The principle of co-ordination, once accepted and practiced, becomes built into the very being of the agency. Influenced by the power of habit, the agency is more fully prepared to practice co-ordination beyond its immediate sphere in the community at large. Interagency co-operation therefore represents for the agency an extension of its administrative habit of co-ordinating. Such a conditioning of administrative behavior within the agency is one of the prerequisites for interagency collaboration.

We become psychologically ready to extend ourselves in the larger community setting when there is the sense of security that comes with the successful management of our own institution. The capacity to share in joint management on a community level depends to a large degree on the individual's capacity for good management. Well run agencies are the foundations for a well run community. "We can seek for others only what we have in some measure attained for ourselves. The level of the individual gives the worth of his social level."¹

¹ R. M. MacIver, *Community* (New York: Macmillan) p. 94.

THE GROUP-WORK AGENCY HAS BEEN MOVING INTO THE COMMUNITY

The co-operative experience becomes the test of maturity and of the social competence necessary for establishing relationships in ever-increasing circles. Intergroup activity is not entirely a matter of organizational structure and method, important as these are. It is essentially a pattern of interpersonal relationships in a group of people joined together by a common purpose and a sense of responsibility for the larger whole. We have come to recognize that the essence of community is the interdependence of its parts, and that no single segment can remove itself from the common stream of life without damage to all concerned. "As individual progress depends on the degrees of interpenetration so group progress depends on interpenetration of group with group. This is the social law."²

Forces in the social scene have been compelling the individual agencies to move in a wider orbit. Among these forces are the increasing urbanization of our national life and the consequent increase in social problems; the multiplication of social agencies with a mounting financial community outlay; the expansion of tax-supported services. Technological advance has been giving impetus to integration and co-ordination in government, industry, and labor groups. The principle of laissez faire is being found to be inadequate; symptoms of its weakness were excessive costs, duplication of effort, and ineffectiveness. In an increasingly interdependent world, rugged individualism has had to give way to collective action as the instrument for meeting the new problems in modern times.

Shared responsibility for the common good represents democracy in action. Social problems have become en-

² M. P. Follet, *The New State* (New York: Longmans Green, 1918) p. 249.

tirely too complex to be grappled with successfully by any one agency, and community strategy requires the reconciliation of agency-mindedness with community-mindedness. A belief therefore in the democratic principle of shared responsibility for the whole becomes a prerequisite for unified action.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY ENRICHES THE AGENCY

Community organization—this process of intergroup relations—draws its inspiration from the democratic idea. It attests to the democratic principle of individual worth by emphasizing the needs of persons as the basis for social planning. The machinery it establishes is only the means to a social end—a fuller life for each individual. Social need becomes the determining factor. Joint fact-finding, planning, action, public education, and the establishing of common standards are all aimed at better adjusting the agencies to fulfill this social need.

Community organization applies also the democratic principle of participation by involving in its process all group interests concerned. The enlistment of co-operation on the broadest possible base assures the uncovering of all related issues, brings about a fuller exchange of ideas, arouses a sense of common purpose and responsibility, and provides opportunities for education through participation. Such democratic experience on the part of members of agency boards and staff serves to reinforce democratic practice in the agency itself. Obversely, where the community process is autocratic, the agency suffers. Agency administration therefore has a stake, as well as an obligation, in the development of democratic community organization.

There are other distinct values to the agency derived from co-operative experience on a community level. Such experience represents motivated educational situations in which there takes place purposeful learning for the par-

ticipating board and staff members. They acquire a broader knowledge of the community, and of the concepts underlying professional practice. Agency provincialism gives way to a wider outlook; the perspective on the individual agency's own problems is sharpened. Besides, there is the emotional reenforcement of one's own values that comes from association with like-minded persons. Then, too, the agency's individual efforts to raise personnel and program standards, for example, are strengthened by communally established ones.

This community seal of approval tends to exercise subtle pressures on individual boards that otherwise might have closed minds with respect to improvements recommended by their staff. In the light of such agency gains, there need be no apology or sense of guilt for time taken from agency business for community participation. On the contrary, "the job analysis of all workers carrying administrative responsibilities should include specific time for community activities. . . . The time that staff and board give to community activities in the field of social work should have the same value and importance as time spent on purely agency affairs."³

Accordingly, the administrative function of directing, charged as it is with the responsibility for providing opportunities for personnel satisfactions and development, does not confine these opportunities within the agency; it extends them outside to the educationally rich arena of community relationships. Administration sees to it that there is time allocated in board and staff meetings for reports and discussion on community meetings, and for the analysis of agency relationships. Administration consciously applies itself to the task of orienting personnel to the patterns of community organization and to community problems and provides them with guidance in their community work.

³ Harleigh B. Trecker, *Group Process in Administration* (New York: Woman's Press, 1946) p. 112.

As with agency projects, community ones must be within the competence of the participants and within the range of their interests so that their satisfaction through accomplishment can be achieved. Where community meetings become mere ceremonials with little or no opportunity for the participants to influence decisions, the individuals become alienated and their community interest deadened.

Each community project has to be judiciously evaluated not only in this regard, but also in terms of its intrinsic worth for agency participation. Without some kind of selectivity, agency collaboration can grow out of balance, with too much unjustified time spent away from the agency itself. Running to meetings willy-nilly can become a vocational weakness. Agency time and energies need to be economically managed.

The benefits of community participation should be distributed among personnel. There is the tendency and temptation to restrict this activity to a chosen few. Much of the interchange takes place among top executives. The common concerns of other workers need to be identified and embodied community-wise in central groups that can tie these individuals into the community. Thus department heads, supervisors, workers in the physical education, adult education, teen-age, maintenance, clerical, and other departments can acquire the sense of community belonging, and the stimulating of broader association across agency lines. Occasionally, these workers spontaneously form themselves according to interest into informal groups which administration needs to recognize and strengthen by guidance.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IS A TWO-WAY PROCESS

In the community process, it becomes the task of agency administration, as well as of community organization, to maintain a balance between the requirements of each.

Each has a distinctive role to play for which the democratic doctrine can serve as a criterion. Democracy is a two-way process; it exacts obligations of participation at the same time that it bestows rights and privileges. These include freedom for voluntary associational activity and freedom for difference. The genius of the American way of life resides in our readiness to accept difference and to encourage group distinctiveness.

This so-called cultural pluralism has found expression in the diversification of private social agencies. These are sponsored by a variety of religious, racial, and cultural, and other groups, each with a distinctive purpose, constituency, program, and leadership. This agency distinctiveness derives not only from the sanctions of a democratic society, but also from the fact that the agencies' particular services meet the special needs of their respective groups. Community organization, in recognition of this democratic value, has the obligation to conserve such differences by a flexible approach, which should release the agency's fear that the price of community co-ordination is the loss of its individuality. In such an eventuality, the community would be the loser, for much of the agency's strength resides in its distinctiveness.

KEEPING COMMUNITY INFORMED IS A MULTIPLE TASK

Another administrative process that connects agency with community is that of reporting. As we have seen, administration, when systematically conceived, views its component parts, including reporting, as continuous processes, rather than as isolated, haphazard matters. Administration assigns to reporting the function of maintaining the lines of communication with all the parts—boards, staff, membership, and community. Reporting keeps them informed about the life of the agency and to this end gathers and prepares the required data. Systematically, the information is transmitted through such channels as

daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, and annual reports; through house organs and special bulletins, through private conversations and talks at board, staff, membership, and community meetings; and through newspapers, radio, movies, dramatizations, exhibits, and other media. The administrative emphasis is upon a planned, organized approach under centralized direction.

THE DAY-BY-DAY ACTIVITY OF THE AGENCY INFLUENCES PUBLIC OPINION

Acquainting the public with agency purposes, methods, and accomplishments, so that it will understand and support the agency is a continuous activity. This so-called publicity function of administration is only one phase of a public relations program. The day-to-day behavior of the agency in all its operations becomes communicated as well. The agency's reputation with the public is established more by what it is and does than by what it says, important as it is to keep the public informed. Administration needs to trace the source of the intangible influences which mold public opinion.

Accordingly, at every step, the agency needs to look to the character of its practices. A satisfied board, staff, and membership become effective publicity agents. A social service well rendered is matchless in its power for shaping attitudes towards the agency. The employment of volunteers, when they are made to feel they have a place, provides community with lasting first-hand impressions. The good opinion of professional workers in other agencies needs to be earned, for it must be remembered that they can and do significantly influence the attitudes of their own boards, staff, and clientele, towards another institution.

Then too, in the public mind, the administrator and his staff may be identified as being the agency. It is their actions in the performance of their professional work, in

contacts with the rank and file, in interagency and community efforts which also establish for the public the character of the agency. Especially significant is the effect of community talks given by an agency representative which tend to endow his agency, in the minds of the audience, with whatever qualities of competence, understanding, and friendliness he may display.

Agency behavior, like that of an individual, affects the public all the time. Little things can conspire in the making or destroying of friendly relations—the attitude of the receptionist and the telephone operator; the way complaints are handled, letters and telephone calls are answered, promises are kept; the accessibility of the administrator and staff; the keeping of appointments; the arrangement of the reception room. Democratic administration does not limit its respect for the individual to board, staff, membership; it extends it to the rank and file in the community as well. By such democratic practice, the agency earns community respect in turn.

THE PUBLIC IS INTERESTED IN DEMOCRACY

This democratic essential in public relations goes beyond making each individual feel that he counts—beyond meeting the public in a human rather than in a coldly institutional manner. An important section of the public is sensitive to and impressed by the extent to which the agency serves to project the ideals of democracy. It is concerned in knowing whether affiliation with the agency is open to all, regardless of point of view, economic status, or group affiliation; whether the program advances the democratic way of life, and whether good citizenship is developed. The public's emphasis on the importance of the individual is nothing new; it is the same emphasis that gave rise to and underlies the whole concept of social work itself.

Finally, community-agency relations are also by-prod-

ucts of the other processes of management, namely, the processes of evaluating, budgeting, and accounting. While these are intended to accomplish distinct objectives of their own, at the same time they serve community purposes. Evaluation, through public opinion polls, studies, informal day-to-day impressions, and the more elaborate survey, includes the determining of the agency's services to the community and the means for their improvement. Interwoven in the process of budgeting is the consideration of community—whether to expand or contract the agency program in accordance with community need. Accounting serves as a public relations instrument when it provides the community with a financial picture of the agency and serves to certify that the funds which the public contributed have been wisely spent and for the purpose intended by the community.

In this reexamination of the basic elements of administration, we have attempted to show that community relations represent not an isolated effort, but are a continuous by-product of all the administrative processes. This is another way of saying that they essentially are the fruition of sound administration in all its phases.

THE MANAGEMENT OF COMMUNITY GROUPS

We have left to the last a more detailed reference to the many specific groups that are a part of the network of community relationships. It is the business of administration to identify those groups that have a bearing on the agency, and to decide the nature of its approach to them. Whether there is a plan or not, the agency, since it does not exist in a vacuum, is inescapably affected by these groups one way or another. This being the case, administration prefers not to leave relations with them to chance. It tries to define the place of the agency in the community pattern. To the multiplicity of outside groups, the agency adjusts with different degrees of closeness and

permanence, depending on the purposes in view, the obligations to community and to itself, and its available resources for coactivity.

The Agency's Following

Some selected groups are indispensable to the agency on a continuous basis while contacts with others need only be superficial and occasional. Closest to the agency is its immediate special public, sometimes referred to as its "following". It is administration's job to identify this segment of the community for more intensive cultivation. For it is upon this group that rest the basic foundations for its support. Included in the group are the active members, their friends and former members; the board of directors and committees, past and present, and their friends; staff members, including volunteer workers. Because of their participation in the agency, they are more likely, though not always, to have a stake in its welfare.

There are also the large number who, though not affiliated, are in sympathy with the agency's purpose, philosophy, and program. They are impressed with the "fine work" it is doing, about which they have learned from their friends, from newspaper publicity, bulletins, or reports. Unfortunately, there is no way of ascertaining who all these friends of the agency may be. However, they do reveal themselves at unexpected occasions, as, for example, when they present the agency with gifts, bequests, or with substantial donations, when the agency is in straitened financial circumstances.

Interagency Relations

We have already discussed collaboration with other social agencies through such central bodies as the council of social agencies. On the local, as well as on the state and national levels, the individual agency is finding common ground with others and is substantially benefiting from these experiences since they prove vital and essen-

tial to its own immediate interests. In the group-work field, the rudimentary beginnings of closer alignments with other fields is seen in the recent development of so-called case-work—group-work projects. This has heightened the effectiveness of each of these specialties, sharpened the skills, and deepened the insights of the practitioners.

Public-Private Interaction

In a community approach, public-private agency relations are seen in the nature of supplementation and mutual support rather than of rivalry. Unmet social needs are so extensive that both have an inexhaustible role to play. The private group-work agencies can never hope, neither should they aspire, to meet the leisure time needs of America. This is a major governmental responsibility, and the private agency becomes true to its aims when it becomes an advocate of recreation as a basic public welfare service. The public agency will view the private agency as a source of moral support, as supplementary in scope, experimental in approach, and individualized in meeting special community needs. Mutual understanding and learning how to work together should help in resolving any conflicts between the two.

The Schools

The traditional isolation of the schools is slowly giving way to a partnership with the group-work agency. Stimulated by their child guidance and counseling divisions, a number of school systems have finally "discovered" the group-work agency. Directories of available group-work services have been prepared for the use of teachers; referrals of children who could be helped by group experience are being made, and case conferences have been set up. Schools and agencies together have also established projects for a selected group of school children. Another

trend is seen in the wider use of school buildings by group-work agencies.

The Church

The barriers between the group-work agency and the church have been gradually dissolving. The church has become more alert to the broader social needs of individuals and the value for them of group experience in the leisure-time agency. Church leaders are acquiring a greater respect for group work as they become aware of its professional character, its philosophy, methods, and standards of practice. Church and agency have much in common which should facilitate interrelationships. Both seek the enrichment of the individual personality and the enhancement of community welfare. The tie between the two should be close, for in many instances the group-work agency grew out of the religious convictions of its founders or was established with the support of the church.

Business and Organized Labor

There is common ground among agency, industry, and business. Workers are re-created through the mentally stimulating, emotionally satisfying, and health promoting activities of the agency. Industry and business are indirect beneficiaries. The agency and organized labor have mutual interests expressed in labor's support of the agency through its increasing financial contributions to community chests and the agency's contribution to the welfare of union members and their families who participate in its activities. Organized labor's assumption of greater responsibility in community social welfare needs to be balanced through the broadening of the agency's basis of representation on the board so as to include representatives of labor.

In civic, fraternal groups, and men's and women's clubs, the agency can find a reservoir of manpower for volunteer

service. To the groups that sponsor youth-service programs, the agency can contribute its leadership and guidance. In any case, with their numerous members they represent useful channels for spreading information about the agency's purpose and program.

Parents

A common interest in children can establish a quick and strong bond between the agency and parents. As a consequence, agency-parent relations can be deeper and closer than those involving any other outside group. That this is not always the case is due not only to parental lack of interest and absorption elsewhere, but also to the absence of an organized approach to the parents on the part of the agency. The blaming of parents, which has become the fashion, needs to give way to an objective examination of the factors accountable for parental indifference. A planned program for enlisting parent co-operation based on needs, capacities and interests is called for. This remains an unexplored frontier, rich in potentialities for productive agency-parent relations.

The Neighborhood

The agency's return to the community from which it sprung will be impressively signalized when it recognizes its responsibility to develop the neighborhood as a social grouping. To restore the disappearing values of neighborly feeling and neighborhood action is to get to the very heart, not only of community advancement but also of the democratic ideal. Agency leadership is especially equipped for the task. The experience of the wartime Block Neighborhood Clubs amply demonstrated the value of organization at the grassroots. The emphasis on the neighborhood has been growing. According to the National Resources Planning Board, "the guiding concept which is gaining wide acceptance as an ideal in city rebuilding is that of the neighborhood".

The Community as a Whole

With respect to the community as a whole, the agency seeks not alone financial support, but accepts the obligation for helping develop a community that is enlightened, democratic, and socially conscious. To make the community a better place for all to live in is an imperative of the agency's very being. This it can do through maximizing the social benefits of its program, sound democratic management, training leaders for the community, and sharing responsibility for community affairs. Administration sees this projection into the stream of community life as an integral function of the agency, both for the contribution it is obligated to make, and for the benefits to it which accrue.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGENCY AS A WHOLE

THUS FAR, IT HAS BEEN THE COMPONENT PARTS of administration, democracy, and agency to which our attention has been directed. We have examined these separately for the purposes of analysis, with the realization that actually they are not isolated. We need now to see the situation as a whole, note the relations between these diverse parts, detect any incompatibilities between them and seek out whatever new meanings an over-all approach can yield. For the whole is more than and different from the sum-total of its parts.

ADMINISTRATION IS A MEANS TO AN END

Taking our first overview, we observe that administrative mechanisms, essential as these may be, are not ends in themselves. There is such a thing as becoming so enamored with administrative machinery and with its smooth running as to overlook the purpose for which it was intended. Its only reason for existence is the accomplishment of the objectives of the enterprise. Administration loses its meaning when conceived as a thing in itself. Its purpose is to produce conditions favorable to the effective functioning of the individuals.

To this end, management strives to create a psychologically wholesome environment, that is, an operational situation in which there are unity, order, and stability. Unified, orderly, and stable operations engender a feeling of confidence and emotional security. Nothing demoralizes the worker as much as uncertainty. Disorder, waste, inefficiency are a source of strain and discomfort to him.

Haphazard management diminishes respect for the agency, undermines morale, increases tensions; it generates a social climate that becomes foggy with misunderstandings and discords.

STABILITY AND FLEXIBILITY

To speak of order and stability is not to imply inflexibility. While administration denotes a course of action, it is action however which is carried forward by people and in the direction of certain goals. Since people and goals are not rigidly fixed for all time, continuous adjustment is required to maintain equilibrium. This achievement of balance among the component parts is the function of administration. Accordingly, it must be conceived as a process that is ongoing rather than static. In actuality, administration tends to cling to its habitual practices because of their proven reliability. There is a human desire to hold on to tested ways. Change is upsetting, while adjustment calls for hard work, and is time-consuming. Usually, only the mounting pressures of critical situations force change upon administration.

Leaving adjustment to the force of circumstance instead of to foresight means a loss of power for the agency. Deliberate experimentation and study are required for the discovery of better ways of doing things. Administration is a very young discipline. More of an art, it has many intangibles. As a young science, its principles are not yet precise. We still have to make allowance for our inadequate understanding of the elusive complexities of the human personality, and for our lack of skill in dealing with them.

Most executives have had more training in handling technical problems of organization, than in the more difficult human problem of dealing with men. More of them are beginning to see that power for management derives from leadership in human relations, and not just

from organizational devices. When, through scientific study, we uncover sounder methods, we shall realize how wasteful it has been to leave the improvement of administration to chance. Then there will be less occasion for the complaint: "Why did we not think of that before?"

ADMINISTRATION IS A FACILITATING ACTIVITY

Looking from another angle at administration as a whole, we see that essentially it tries to establish favorable conditions that can release agency power. To this end, it defines the purpose that keeps the agency from going off aimlessly in all directions. It establishes rules, that is, policies which can serve as a guide in the selection of those procedures appropriate for the achievement of the purpose. It sets up an organizational structure consisting of prescribed arrangements that can economically channel the combined efforts of personnel towards the fulfillment of their common goal. To implement purpose and policies, administration selects all the human and technical means calculated to provide the support which is required: board, staff, facilities, program, finances, reporting, accounting, and all the other technical methods and procedures.

All this is more than a lifeless process of putting the pieces together. The administrator requires skill in relating himself to people, common sense which will counteract the deadening hand of formalism, boldness which will lay down the challenge for action. On the one hand, administrative leadership is no longer conceived just as a matter of being efficient. Neither is it, on the other hand, a matter of being "nice" to personnel. Tact, friendliness, a sense of humor, while desirable traits, are no substitutes for a grasp of the dynamics of individual and group behavior. The meticulously efficient executive can leave people cold, while the "nice" one may leave them frustrated.

EMOTIONAL FACTORS CANNOT BE SEPARATED
FROM MANAGEMENT PROCESSES

Management methods arise not only from a logic of their own, but also out of the influence of the administrator's character as this gets itself expressed in the management setting. The management methods he uses and the manner in which he seeks to satisfy his personality needs are inseparably joined. One individual may be prompted to establish and follow systematic procedures because, having a sense of emotional insecurity, he feels safer in the prescribed and fixed ways. These ways may be resisted by another because they restrict his freedom of action and are a threat to his sense of independence, which feelings may be a reactivation of old memories of unpleasant abridgment of his liberty. An executive may accept the principle of delegating authority, but may fail to relinquish any of his powers because these give an assurance, that he needs, of feeling that he is in control. He may let things deteriorate because he has the need to retain the love of his staff which he feels he might lose if he were critical of them.

"The administrator in whom a strict super-ego represents personal rebellion, will be threatened particularly in his relationships with colleagues who approach an equal footing with him. If he is unable to best them in the professional aspects of his work, he may act out his needs to dominate them in other areas. . . . Laxity may be the expression of passivity. . . . Passivity may be one of the modes of defense against originally aggressive hostile impulses which the individual avoids for fear of retaliation."¹

This projection of emotional needs onto the agency applies not only to the administrator but to all workers.

¹ Harry H. Nierenberg, M.D., "Emotional Factors in Administrative Authority." Paper read before the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, 1947.

In reacting to a higher authority, they may be submissive, rebellious, dependent or independent, according to the meaning these forms of behavior have for them. "A position of authority induces attitudes both in self and in others which are often projected from infantile experiences. . . . If he (the executive) has not questioned (authority) in the past, he may act as if others should not now question him. Conversely, his own rebellious tendencies may make him either fear or like rebellion in others. . . . He may feel unworthy to control others . . . and so attitudes built on guilt . . . may assert themselves . . . in a vacillating leadership or delegation of responsibilities that the executive alone should take. . . . Staff members, on the other hand, tend to affix to the executive whatever attitudes they have toward authority."²

THE ORGANIZATION CHART IS A PARTIAL DESCRIPTION

Let us now take an over-all look at the organizational structure. The organizational chart, which pictures the hierarchy of authority and responsibility, describes merely the formal assignment of power as this has been officially authorized. By itself, the chart may lack complete reality, for there may be other centers of power which are unofficially exercised. The duly constituted officials may only be the titular heads with the control of the machinery transferred to persons "behind the throne" because of their prestige, position, wealth, or superior competence. These may include an ex-president, a single member, a group of board members, or a community leader. Important matters may be held up until these individuals are heard from, or no action may be taken because they disapprove. Theirs may be a subtle influence that permeates the life of the agency.

This condition is not limited to the lay leadership. The

² Jeanette Hanford, "Psychological Factors in Executive-Staff Relationships," a chapter in *Some Dynamics of Social Agency Administration*.

hidden sources of unofficial power may be traced to a private secretary, an administrative assistant, a department head, the executive's wife, or a highly competent worker in the ranks. The administrative work of a weak department head may be unofficially carried by one of his subordinates, or by the chief executive. Instead of a balanced distribution of power, all the authority may be taken over by the president or by the executive, with the organization thus converted into a "one-man agency."

Then there is the influence accruing from services beyond the line of duty, in which the personality of the worker transcends the particular demands of his job. The lobby desk-clerk, because of his sympathetic interest, becomes the confidant of members who follow his lead. The janitor, who likes people, goes out of his way to make them feel at home. The physical director can influence his gymnasium followers to broaden their participation by joining educational classes or clubs. The game-room attendant can improve the attitude of a member to the agency as a whole because of a friendly interpersonal relationship.

Among the members, a small group who use the agency frequently can influence member actions and attitudes. Such a clique, out of proportion to its numbers, can exercise a persuasive power that can advance or impede the agency's functioning. In the community, a favorable public opinion of the agency which has been crystallized by custom and tradition may be a great source of agency strength. Finally, there is the staunch group of supporters scattered among the board, staff, and membership, both past and present, and the community at large. They represent the shock troops, who, because of their abiding loyalty, can be counted upon to come to the rescue in times of difficulty.

All these unofficial centers of control represent the hidden assets or liabilities of the agency, as the case may be. Administration needs to be aware of these so as to

be able to conserve or to counteract their power as the situation demands. Power does not always follow organizational lines; it has a way of flowing to those with special competence or status. The narrow outlines of the formal organizational chart need to be supplemented with this informal one so that the broader pattern of power can be identified.

GROUP-WORK MANAGEMENT IS DUALISTIC

Shifting to another overview, we find the group-work agency in an anomalous administrative position. On the one hand, it is expected to use good business practices: to make purchases wisely, check bills carefully, take advantage of discounts, to make a minimal profit on the sale of athletic goods and other supplies, to collect membership dues systematically, to maintain a bookkeeping system which can reflect accurately the agency's financial picture. The agency is expected to give adequate services to its members in return for fees paid; to maintain its equipment and facilities in good working order; to make good its financial obligations to merchants and to its employees.

The agency is supposed to appraise its management practices in terms of standards. These emphasize the importance of a regular base of financial support; the keeping of reasonable ratios between expenditures for salaries, program, and maintenance; the annual audit of books by a certified public accountant. These criteria also call for the preparation of a budget for each year's operation; the making of expenditures according to a regular procedure and under central control; the justification of per capita costs that are out of line with that of similar agencies; and the determination of unit costs.³ Unsound busi-

³ These and other criteria were developed by Charles H. Young for his 1938 survey of the San Francisco Jewish Community Center, and were based on the 1935 formulations of groups in Chicago and Pittsburgh in their "Outline of Agency Self-Evaluation."

ness practices are no longer condoned on the grounds that the social agency is not a business organization and that preoccupation with these business matters takes away valuable time from its social function of serving persons.

On the other hand, while expected to adhere closely to sound business practices in the foregoing respects, the agency must, to be true to its social service character, deviate in other respects. It must operate at one and the same time in two different directions. Unlike business, its fees can not in many cases be based on unit costs, should these prove prohibitive for the member. Although it is expected that the user will carry his share of financial support, the fees are scaled to his capacity to pay; those unable to pay may receive free memberships. Neither is the agency supposed to charge off building depreciation to operating costs. It is assumed that the community, which constructed the physical structure in the first place, will provide separate funds for replacements. While it is presumed that the agency will try to achieve a maximum percentage of self-support, it is not criticized for conducting a deficit operation.

Between these two divergent expectancies of it—the maintenance of sound business practices and the rendering of social services—administration needs to maintain a wise balance. The group-work agency does not exist for the making of a profit, as does business. It is accepted in this light by the public, which is accustomed to refer to the agency as a “non-profit organization.” Suspicion to the contrary in the public mind arouses hostility.

ACHIEVEMENT OF ORGANIC UNITY IS A PROBLEM

Coming to our next overview, we find that achievement of organic unity in as diversified an institution as the group-work agency is not easy. The task of keeping the many parts in harmony with each other and the whole

so that there will be a coherent development is the main responsibility of the administrator. His must be the unforgetful mind that at one and the same time holds in view the agency as a whole, and its separate units, all the time—past, present, and future. He needs to be sensitive to inconsistencies and conflicts in these interrelationships.

Unfortunately, when the administrator becomes too involved in the minutiae of routine administration, so that he fails to see the forest for the trees, the various parts get out of line; they develop without regard to their essential interdependence. The consequence is agency lopsidedness, incongruity, and incoherence. New programs may be launched without regard to staff capacity to achieve them; without the necessary physical and financial resources; and without consistency with agency purpose. In introducing procedural changes in one department, the procedures of related departments which are affected may not be adjusted accordingly.

There may be marked inconsistency in the way the separate departments interpret the purpose of the agency, explain the rules to the members, or provide for democratic participation. One department may motivate membership participation through a real interest in the activity, while another may emphasize awards and material rewards. The executive may encourage the use of democratic leadership techniques, while an autocratic supervisor conditions the workers otherwise; or it may be the other way around.

Incoherence

Incoherence results from agency objectives being out of joint with clientele. Such was the case with one community center which acted on the belief that its primary purpose was juvenile delinquency prevention. It had uncritically accepted such a view not only because it lacked an understanding of broader aims, but also in the mistaken idea that this represented the only basis for appealing to

the community for financial support. As a consequence, the program was narrow; the youth were patronizingly approached by the "do-gooders" on the board; the agency became stigmatized and was avoided by self-respecting young people. A study of the area could have revealed, as happened many years later, that there was actually very little delinquency.

Another community center, also motivated by the juvenile delinquency prevention goal, was unaware of the incoherence between this goal and the inadequacy of the means employed. Among the staff, there was little understanding of the complex factors in delinquency causation. None had the requisite specialized skills. Membership-to-staff ratios were far too high to permit the necessary individualized approach which was further impeded by the fact that the activity program was predominantly of the mass type. As a result of this discrepancy between goals and resources, board and staff were overwhelmed with a sense of futility and frustration.

Incoherence Between Aims and Practice

Most striking among group-work agencies is the incoherence between professed aims and their implementation. This divorcing of the deed from the word becomes an important administrative concern because it results in a confusion of the realities, a feeling of hypocrisy, a sense of discouragement, all of which tend to impair the energy of personnel. "Many types of gaps are evident; gaps between our philosophy and our process; gaps between our insights and our skills; gaps between the practices we advocate and the practices we use."⁴

Group work's major stress is on the importance of the democratic group for personality enrichment, yet the preponderant membership participation is in gymnasium or mass activities. The U. S. Children's Bureau Study of 181

⁴ Charles E. Hendry and Ray Johns, *Group Work Affirmations and Applications* (New York: Association Press, 1940).

Group Work agencies revealed that of their total membership only twenty-three per cent were enrolled in clubs.⁵

Another major goal of the agency may be the religious or social cause embodied in a national movement of which it is a part. Yet acceptance of this goal is not made a condition of membership, nor are the activities in the main directed toward the goal. Overshadowing it is the agency's commitment to the community to provide specific activity services around which the program is built. To the member, the agency is a place for activities with the only basis for his admission being his ability to pay or his need for the program. Under these circumstances, the reconciliation between these divergencies becomes a perplexing problem.

Administration must recognize and deal with any over-extended commitment to goals beyond its reach, for such goals may become a mockery and may demoralize. Granted the moving power of ideals and the need of the individual to reach beyond the present, it does not follow that one must become unrealistic. Goals are unreal apart from available means for their achievement. We need to discriminate between the goals which are realizable in the immediate future and those which are more distant.

INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: CONSERVATISM

We now come to an over-all examination of some patterns which are characteristic of the agency as an institution, and observe their implications for administration. The first to be noted is the inherent conservatism of an institution as such and its resistance to change.

The first period in the history of the agency is one of rapid advance. In its beginnings, the agency strikes out into new territory, pioneering, experimenting, changing. It strives to acquire status and community recognition. With the passage of time, it tends to slow down, with less

⁵ *Social Statistics Supplement*, December, 1941, U. S. Children's Bureau.

freedom of movement and elasticity. Caution and moderation, looking toward institutional stability and security, take hold. Tradition and custom, which have been in the making, begin to play a larger influence in determining action. The tendency to hold on to the existing organizational structure becomes increasingly marked. Vested interests that have been developed serve to keep the agency intact.

This agency disposition toward conservatism reflects in part a normal inclination to hold on to the old ways which provide a sense of security for human beings who after all are the agency. Or it may be traced to such weaknesses in the leadership as complacency, sheer tiredness, lack of the know-how, or a sense of inadequacy and fear of change.

The Pattern of Disorganization

A second pattern which may develop is that of disorganization. Its symptoms are chaos, confusion, or conflict. Morale is at a low ebb; there is little sense of solidarity, loyalty, and enthusiasm. Agency deterioration may show up in shabbily conducted operations and services, in a decrease of membership, a decline of participation in activities, a falling away of board or community support. Some of the conditions which may foster agency disintegration are bad management, a lack of a unifying leadership, personnel seeking power or material gain, the development of vested interests without a regard for the common good, or conflict around doctrinal viewpoints. There may be a wasting away of belief in the agency's purpose, the disrupting influence of discrepancies between stated goal and practices, incompetent or inadequately sized staff, or an overextension of the lines of activity. Then there is loss of power through stagnation when the agency hangs on to a past to which present situations are made to conform. When the agency thus falls to pieces, it reflects a bankrupt leadership.

To overhaul personnel attitudes, agency structure, and

other barriers to change, and to counteract the forces of disorganization, require a constructive leadership with vision and forcefulness. An awareness of the factors in the agency's behavior pattern is the first step toward their control. Next, there is the delicate matter of removing personnel, no matter what their position, who have been unable to fulfill their responsibilities. This always presents a problem to administration. "Too often executives think they are being kind and considerate to employees who do not measure up. This is invariably a mistake. It is not even fair to the misplaced official who might be happier and more effective elsewhere, while it is clearly unfair to those who work under this supervision, because everyone, including the organization, is bound to suffer."⁶ The application of this principle might be extended to all personnel, including the lay leadership.

A related problem is that of dealing with the vested interests who jealously guard the self-assumed prerogatives that are threatened by change. As H. G. Wells noted, "It is a universal weakness of mankind that what we are called upon to administer, we presently imagine we own." On the one hand, this situation points up the evil of self-perpetuating boards and of autocratic management which tend to insulate the agency. On the other hand, by contrast, there is sharpened up for us the advantages of democracy in administration, which, because it utilizes the powers of the many on a broad base of participation, serves to make the agency dynamic and self-renewing.

The Pattern of Self-Encirclement

Administration needs further to defend the institution against loss of power. The tendency is for the agency to become ingrown and self-encircled. It is comfortable to

⁶ Marshall E. Dimock, *The Executive in Action* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), p. 151.

have likeminded individuals on the board and staff, who can be expected to conform. Sameness of outlook, however, exacts the heavy price of mediocrity. The inclusion of persons from outside the agency circle, with different experiences and backgrounds, can serve to inject new life into the agency, provided these persons are not looked upon as a threat.

The Illusion of Permanence

Administration too must contend with the soporific effects of an agency illusion that it is indestructible. Rarely does an institution envisage its own demise or plan for its dissolution at any stated future time. No agency has an inalienable right to perpetuity. To survive, it must meet the definite demands for service made upon it by the community.

The Pattern of Change

Like life itself, the agency, however, is a fluctuating entity, inevitably responding one way or another to stimuli, internal, or external. The pattern of change therefore becomes another institutional behavior phenomenon. Change is of two kinds—the accidental and the planned. Accidental change has been brought on by such unexpected situations as the two world wars, the economic depression of 1929, the virtual stoppage of immigration, the expansion of the labor movement, population growth, increase in the number of the aged, and other social, economic factors. Under their impact, as is well known, agency program, leadership, and methods were modified. Agencies responded variously: there were differences in their reaction time, flexibility, adherence to existing standards, and the way new responsibilities were accepted. Some exploited the new situation for agency gain, while others were primarily concerned with rendering the intrinsic service required.

Other unplanned events may alter the agency: the resignation of an incompetent leader, the shift in population, the challenge of another agency operating in the same field, newly found financial strength through bequests or donations, a revitalized council of social agencies, or stronger national leadership.

Planned change is of comparatively recent origin. In place of a policy of drift and chance, the attempt is being made to formulate in advance a philosophy of thought, and guiding principles for action. Agency adaptation is not being left entirely to chance. "It is quite plain that the social development of the past has been mostly blind and without human intention . . . the very idea of progress, of orderly improvement on a great scale is well known to be of recent origin."⁷ The power for adaptation, it is being seen, is the way of agency survival as it is for society itself.

A study of the history of national movements reveals a pattern of planned change which has been reflected in the behavior of their member agencies. Taking one instance as a sample, we find that the Jewish Community Center movement guided its development through a continuous process of critical evaluation and planning.⁸ In the beginning, there was no well-thought-out conception of objectives; the program was an imitation of the then existent institutions, such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. A whole set of practices took on validity with time and was accepted uncritically. Change came about primarily in response to the pressures of circumstances or out of expediency. Later, this body of practices was scrutinized, and the effort was made to square them with the demands of the environment and with the best educational, psychological, and sociological thinking of the time. Out of

⁷Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922) p. 398.

⁸Louis H. Blumenthal, "Developments in the Jewish Center Movement," *The Jewish Center Quarterly*, September, 1938.

this examination came the formulation of a platform of underlying principles as the basis for action. This step logically led to the next—the exploration of those methods, techniques, and program activities suited to the implementation of the newly found principles. This process was repeated at different stages in the life of the movement. Developments, however, came too fast to permit more than a piecemeal examination.

Currently, group-work institutions have tried to further the process of adaptation by undertaking an over-all, realistic appraisal of their philosophy and practices and the extent to which they are effective and measure up to stated goals. This is symptomatic of the new era of scientific, critical analysis. It represents a shift from the traditional claim-making and salesmanship type of approach.⁹

AN OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

There now finally remains our consideration of democratic administration as a whole. The major problem of democratic administration is this: how to get things done effectively and at the same time provide a satisfying experience for the workers as persons. Autocratic administration is not confronted with the problem of fulfilling this dualism. Democratic administration must carry water on both shoulders. It seeks to synthesize the practical demands of the enterprise with the human needs of workers; agency unity with workers' individuality; the administrative principle of "unity of command" with the social principle of group participation; the need for central control with allowance for individual freedom. Out of the many, it must achieve a oneness without destroying the integrity of the parts.

⁹ See Owen Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* (New York: Association Press, 1939); the Y.W.C.A.'s *Standards Study*, 1936-1938, and *Principles and Emphases for the Biennium*, 1938-1940; Report of the Girl Scout Program Study.

DEMOCRACY MUST BE WORKED AT

Democratic administration derives its inspiration from democratic faith and ideals. However, it is one thing to have democratic convictions and to espouse democratic values, but quite another to translate these into the fabric of the agency. The implementation of the democratic idea must become a distinct project administered with the same deliberate use of the processes of planning, organizing, directing and the rest as would be the case in any other important agency endeavor. To be workable, it must be projected into a system.

The transition from autocratic to democratic practice must be conceived as a guided, gradual process keyed progressively to the developing capacity and interest of the participants, and leading to an ever widening range of democratic experience. As a new adjustment, education and training are required and these take time; progress will be slow. Since doing precedes learning, there needs to be less theorizing about democracy and more of its practice. In a number of situations, there will be uncertainty. It will be a step-by-step advance, with lapses into the old ways occasioned by doubts, fears, or the need for the security of the more orderly older routines. All along the way there will be achieved new learnings which, when discriminately evaluated, will lead to improved methods; insight and skills will become deepened by experience.

The difficulty of the democratic task must be accepted as a simple fact, and our failures viewed not so much as a reproach, but as a challenge. The road will be beset with the same obstacles faced by democracy everywhere. In the tortuous process, each will extract from this effort whatever he puts to it by way of interest and competence. Concrete gains, no matter how small, are not to be minimized. "All those who in the humblest way, in settlement or center, are working for this (a real democracy), are

working at the greatest political problem of the twentieth century."¹⁰

Administration, which merely aims at getting things done, is important but this is not enough. Administration cannot attain its greatest strength nor meet its full obligations unless it broadens its strategy to include the human requirements for which the democratic idea can serve as a blueprint.

¹⁰ Mary Follett, *The New State* (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1926) p. 316.

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